Anti-Slavery Standard Vol. 13-14

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. | WITHOUT CONCEALMENT....WITHOUT COMPROMISE. | EDMUND QUINCY, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

VOL. XIII. NO. 30. | NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1852. | WHOLE NO. 654.

Published weekly, on Thursday, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at their office, No. 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW-YORK. Terms, Two Dollars per annum. Printed for the American Anti-Slavery Society, by NORRIS & JOHNSTON, printers, No. 21 Spruce street.

Selections.

WE transferred into our columns the other day the able and eloquent Preface, written by the Earl of Carlisle, to one of the manifold editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which are daily issuing from the English press. It is gratifying to see a person in the Noble Lord's position, not only assisting, by the prestige of his name, to bring the literary merits of the work in question still more extensively before the British public, but identifying himself with the holy cause of humanity, which that work was written to promote, and especially the cause of humanity as it is affected by the atrocities of American Slavery.

It would have been gladdening to every humane bosom to see Lord Carlisle commending *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on account of its literary merits, and the benevolent objects which the authoress had in view in penning its successive pages; but the gratification which that fact is calculated to afford is very greatly heightened when it is remembered that his lordship puts his imprimatur to the substantial accuracy of all the representations which the authoress has made of the horrors of Transatlantic Slavery. There is not, it ought to be recollected, a more competent witness on this point than Lord Carlisle. He spent two years in America, and devoted much of his attention to the working of Slavery in the Southern States. He saw with his own eyes the effects of the system, and heard with his own ears the groans of the slave. It is, under such circumstances, very important to find that Lord Carlisle unhesitatingly indorses all that Mrs. Beecher Stowe has written regarding the wrongs of the slave. It is all the more important that the question of how far the pictures of American Slavery, given in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, are faithful and true, should be set at rest, because the *Times* here, and the pro-slavery journals on the other side of the Atlantic, have sought to diminish the influence of the book, by representing its portraitures of Slavery in the Southern States as a series of gross exaggerations. The testimony of such a man as Lord Carlisle, to the fidelity of *Uncle Tom's* representations, will completely neutralise the efforts of the *Times* and other journals favourable to Slavery, to destroy its character for truthfulness and accuracy.

This extraordinary book has already done much, and is destined to do a great deal more, towards the creation of a strong Anti-Slavery feeling in this country. What we want, and what is a consummation devoutly to be wished, is, that the intense Anti-Slavery feeling which the work has evoked throughout the length and breadth of the land, and among all classes of society, shall be not suffered to waste itself in mere words, or to evaporate with the occasion which has called it forth. It must be turned to practical account.

The question then comes to be—"How may this best be done?" One thing is very clear: whatever doubts there may be as to the propriety of other courses of action, all will admit that there ought to be a great anti-American Slavery organization, which would bring together, in order to united effort, all the friends of the Southern slave on this side the Atlantic.

Let us not be told that we already have an association of the nature referred to, in the persons of those who constitute the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. We deny that that is, in the proper sense of the term, an Anti-Slavery organization at all. It may be so in name, but it is just the opposite in reality. It would, with much greater propriety, be called a pro-slavery Society. We know not whether any of the holders of slaves have contributed to its funds; but this we know, that they ought to have done so. It has been their best friend. They have had no allies at all to be compared to the little knot of gentlemen who occasionally meet in the character of Anti-Slavery men, in New Broad-street. The effect of faint praise is well known. The effect of a feeble, hesitating, and timid support, is proverbially injurious to the cause which it is ostensibly sought to promote. For the last twenty years the Broad-street Society has been a positive incubus on the Anti-Slavery feeling which has always existed in this country. It has failed to do Anti-Slavery work itself, and yet has persisted until the present time in retaining possession of the field, to the exclusion of those real Abolitionists, who would have done the work with sincerity, with vigour, and with effect.

We believe we do not err when we say, that the association in Broad-street, which, by a gross misnomer, is called an Anti-Slavery Society, is on the eve of dissolution. It has for many years existed only on paper. There has been no life, no vitality in it. To see it, therefore, put entirely out of the way, is a consummation which all the friends of the slave have long wished to witness. We trust that, ere long, we shall have to record its extinction in name as well as in reality. That will be to us as grateful and gratifying a task as we were ever called on to perform. Would that we had to discharge the duty to-morrow. If the poor bondsmen and bondswomen in the Southern Transatlantic States only knew how much injury the Broad-street junto have done to the cause of abolition, while professing to be their sincere friends, there would be inexpresible joy among those three million slaves when intelligence reached them that this mock Anti-Slavery Society had ceased to exist, and no longer stood in the way of their emancipation.

With regard to the journal, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, which is the organ of the miserable abortion of a Society in Broad-street—that publication is in edifying consonance with the principles and views of the handful of persons that compose that Society. We hold it to be impossible, that were any body of men to put their heads together, with the view of trying how dull and inefficient a publication they could produce, it would be impossible for them to be more successful than the Broad-street gentlemen have been. But we will not waste another word on that Anti-Slavery abortion. With the Society it will, as a matter of course, expire.

Another publication, under the title of *The Anti-Slavery Advocate*, has just been started. It is earnest, hearty, honest, and uncompromising. We have already given some extracts from it, which must have satisfied our Anti-Slavery readers that the ground which it has taken up is the only high and holy ground on which the great battle between the Abolitionists and the Slave Power can be fought with success by the former. Our only regret is, that *The Anti-Slavery Advocate* does not possess the necessary amount of space to do justice to the great and momentous subject of American Slavery, and that the interval between the publication of the successive numbers is so great as a month. But with the revived and rapidly-extending interest which is now felt, since the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in the question of American Slavery, we trust the day is not distant when the demand for *The Anti-Slavery Advocate* will be sufficiently great to warrant an enlargement of the dimensions of the journal, and its appearance at less lengthened intervals.—*London Morning Advertiser*.

FRATERNIZATION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS—MISSIONARY UNION.

THE *New York Recorder* says, "The Rev. Dr. Stowe, of Boston, preached the Annual Sermon before the Convention of colporteurs of Virginia and North Carolina, held at Richmond, Va., on Wednesday, the 10th instant. The *Richmond Herald* speaks of the sermon as an able one." That none may be misled by the changed orthography of the name, as given in the *Recorder*, we quote a single sentence from the *Herald*: "In addition to the colporteurs there were present, Elder Baron Stow, D. D., of Boston, one of the Vice Presidents, Messrs Cook, Eastman and Bliss, three of the Secretaries, and two delegates, Messrs. Killen and Guiteau, from Maryland."

Thus it appears that Baron Stow, the writer of the Constitution of the Missionary Union, and a distinguished and most influential member of its Executive Committee, hesitates not to mingle with slaveholders, in that close and familiar fraternization which appropriately belongs only to acknowledged members of the household of faith. He is no chance visitant among these professedly Christian merchants in "slaves and souls of men," but one of the Vice Presidents and the appointed annual preacher of the Convention of colporteurs of Virginia and a portion of North Carolina—an organization that recognises no wrong in Slavery. In voluntarily sustaining such relations to these men, he declares, practically, and therefore more emphatically than he could utter it in words, that the seizing and holding of men by violence, as property—as merchandise, to be used and disposed of at pleasure, like any other merchandise—is not necessarily inconsistent with Christian character.

Well—what else could have been expected of him? Are not his acts in November, 1852, in perfect keeping with his sentiments, in April, 1841—as expressed in the celebrated letter which saved him from proscription, in the Baptist General Convention held that year at Baltimore, of "all known abolitionists?" In that letter he said, "I do wholly disapprove of the denunciatory language so much in vogue with some, in regard to slaveholders. I think it not only impolitic and inexpedient, but uncourteous and unchristian. . . . I have never been able to satisfy myself from the New Testament, that I ought to deny any courtesy to a Christian brother, because he is a slaveholder." It is evident that Mr. Stow has not changed since the letter containing this unequivocal language was written. When he gives the hand of fellowship to men-stealers, as Christian brethren, guilty of no wrong, he is but carrying out the principles here avowed.

And the Missionary Union, to which, perhaps, more than any other man, he has contributed to give character, has all along acted upon the same principle. It has never pretended to occupy a position inconsistent with this; and those who thought that it had at length taken Anti-Slavery ground, because it announced the separation of slaveholding from its Cherokee mission churches, were deceived. It bears still, as it has ever borne, the image and superscription stamped upon it in its Constitution. The Committee on Indian missions did indeed claim it as a "reform," as a "triumph of correct views and principles through the ministry of the gospel," as an "entire extinction of the evil and guilt of Slavery in the churches of that mission;" but these terms, if designed to have the significancy which Anti-Slavery men would naturally give them, are not warranted by the more guarded language of the Annual Report. There, the Executive Committee are too cautious to use language of their own, at all, touching this matter. They give the statement precisely as they find it, without venturing a word of comment. They say, "The last communication received, dated in March, announces that 'slaveholding has been separated from all our churches.' 'I trust,' adds Mr. Jones, 'that our brethren will unite with us in thanksgiving for our deliverance from so great an evil. And I trust also that our more ardent friends will not make any vain-glorious parade about it; for there is no glory due to any one but God, whose wise and gracious providence has brought the whole thing to pass.'" There is nothing here of "reform," or of the "triumph of correct views and principles," or of the "extinction of guilt." It is without the slightest reason that the committee on Indian missions, in spite of the premonitory caution of Mr. Jones, have made a "vain-glorious parade" of such things. They are not in the statement; but we are told, simply, of a providential separation of slaveholding from the churches, for which no credit is due to human agency, and in which there is no occasion to glory. It does not even appear that the Executive Committee, or Mr. Jones, supposed there was any moral wrong to be reformed, any opposition to correct views and principles to be overcome, or any guilt to be extinguished. The "great evil" from which the latter would give thanks for deliverance, may have been nothing more than the great vulnerability of the Union, in consequence of the connection of Slavery with the Cherokee mission churches having been made public, to the shafts of the Free Missionists.

On the whole, we are inclined to think that this was actually the view taken of the matter. Had it been otherwise—had the Executive Committee, with Baron Stow at its head (whoever may have been its chairman), giving shape and direction to its counsels, really looked upon slaveholding as a sin of such flagrancy as to involve a forfeiture of Christian fellowship—would its patronage have been continued for years to the churches in which that sin was known to be tolerated, no more vigorous measures being taken for its removal than the sending of now and then, perhaps, an admonitory letter, until, somehow, the evil was providentially removed? Had Baron Stow really desired the separation from these churches as a matter not merely of expediency, but of principle, and had he truly rejoiced in it as the removal not merely of a reproach, but of a great moral wrong—where is the consistency of his now exchanging the tokens of Christian fellowship with those who live in the constant and open practice of that wrong, and even claim for it the divine sanction? Nay, where would be the consistency of the Union itself, if it were to demand the exclusion of slaveholders from its mission churches, as enjoined by the gospel rule of discipline, while at the same time it makes them welcome on equal terms with others to its own membership? There is no proof, so far as we know, that the Executive Committee ever made such a demand. Certainly it could not be made, without utter disregard of a principle incorporated in the Constitution, and confirmed by repeated decisions of the body—viz: that slaveholders, equally with others, are entitled to membership, and eligible to all offices and appointments. This matter was definitely settled in the outset. To use the language of Mr. Stow, "It was intended to make no exclusion of any one who have American hearts and Baptist principles." In this respect there has been no change.

We say again, then, as we have said before, that under the guise of a professed neutrality, the Union occupies a position of *real* though *tacit* approval of Slavery.—*American Baptist*.

AN "UNCLE TOM" OF REAL LIFE.

JOHN WEIMS—a phonographic corruption, no doubt, of the old Scottish name of Wemyss—has long lived in Washington, the capital of the United States. He has a wife and eight children—five sons and three daughters. He is a free man—free by purchase; and one of his daughters, Stella, is also free—free by flight. She fled from the shores of America, and was adopted by the Rev. Henry Garnet and his wife (themselves fugitives), with whom she resided a short time in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and afterwards removed with them to Glasgow. The remaining family of John Weims continued in Slavery, but it was of a "mild" form. Slavery, however, like other maladies, is apt to pass out of "mildness" into "malignity." And so it happened, as we shall see, with the Weimses. They all lived, in their best days, in and about Washington, working for wages for the joint-benefit of their owner and themselves, and occasionally meeting in domestic intercourse. John's original owner had promised him, when he bought his own emancipation, that he should have his family cheap—a bargain. The old man was thus encouraged to make diligent efforts to raise such a sum as might enable him to call his household his own; and he lately left Washington for the State of New York, to make a collection among the friends of the negro. On his return he was master of 600 dollars; but in his absence the owner of his wife and children had swept them into a slave pen, and sold them to some "man-jobbing" *Haley* for 3,300 dollars. They were still in the metropolis of the Republic (a Republic which ignores the existence of negroes as men), and he was offered his wife and youngest daughter for 900 dollars. He had but 600: he succeeded, however, in raising the other 300, and got back two members of his family. The remainder were borne away to the dreaded South.

Mr. Garnet, who was on the eve of sailing with his wife and Stella to the West Indies, there to enter upon a pastoral charge, wrote off to Newcastle on the receipt of the afflicting intelligence, saying: "The last news from America tells me that poor Stella's mother, two sisters, and five brothers, have just been seized by their master, and they are sold to the negro traders, and have been scattered far apart. Stella is but little less than a maniac, and all of us are smitten as if by death. Charles B. Ray, of New York, the President of the Vigilance Committee, for the Aid of Fugitive Slaves, writes me this sad intelligence, and begs me to aid the afflicted father, who has been in New York to raise some money for their redemption. A part is secure, but more is needed, and but a little time is given to do it. Stella's grief is heart-rending, and we fear her mind will give way."

Will the readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in this country reject the opportunity which now presents itself, of showing to the slaveholder that theirs is no barren sympathy—that they are prepared practically to attest their abhorrence of a system which treats men and women as mere cattle—which ruthlessly scatters a loving household—and which casts some of its members, it may be, into a bondage worse than death? If the virtuous women of England can hear, unmoved, of the sale and dispersion of the five sons of John Weims, surely they cannot see his daughter, a handsome girl of sixteen, torn away from her parents, and not stretch out a hand to save her from the indignities of a *Rosa* and the degradation of a *Cassy*? For the sake of this unhappy girl, and as the very best and most acceptable homage which they can pay to one of the greatest ornaments of the sex—Mrs. Stowe—we do hope that our countrywomen will bestir themselves to snatch the daughter, and the sons also, of John Weims, from the fangs of the American Constitution.* The act, in its immediate consequences, will be one of good; and it may assist in shaming the Western Republic into the practical adoption of its own Declaration of Independence. The authors of that imperishable paper grandly declared—"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The "pursuit of slaves," the framers might also have added. *That* is one portion of the "happiness" of the Republicans—one of their most cherished "liberties." The "inalienable" heritage of the negro is bondage—the condition of a mere "chattel" or "thing"—"endowed by its Creator" with no higher privilege than that of serving "the freest and most enlightened nation under the sun!"

* A subscription with this object has been set on foot. Any contribution which may be entrusted to our hands shall be placed in a proper channel of communication with John Weims.—*Gateshead Observer*.

THE CORRESPONDENCE UPON CUBA.

WE should not be doing justice to that portion of our readers who depend mainly upon the *Standard* for information upon all subjects relating to Slavery, and Anti-Slavery, if our columns did not contain the most important and interesting portions of the recently published diplomatic correspondence with Spain in reference to Cuba. For the two weeks past since the publication of the correspondence we have had room barely to refer to it; we now, however, give several of the letters.

The correspondence covers a period of thirty years, and all goes to jusify the denunciations which M. Kossuth was accustomed to indulge himself against diplomacy. The course of this government during all that time has been one of unmitigated falsehood and knavery toward Spain, endeavouring, with the most pertinacious misrepresentation, continually to arouse the jealousy of her ministers against France and England, while the most constant and solemn assurances were offered of the good will of the United States; yet the probability of future annexation was, at first, kept in view, and latterly earnestly intrigued for; and from the commencement of the correspondence to the end one motive is never lost sight of, and is inculcated as the first principle of each successive administration—that under no possible contingency must Slavery in Cuba be interfered with, and for its continuance the United States would stand pledged against the world.

The correspondence first published was that which took place during Mr. Polk's administration, and that we copy as the evidence of the *animus* of the party about again to come into power. The subsequent letters, some of which we select, show the course and position of the Government at different times. It is a striking commentary upon the whole correspondence, and an evidence of the unprincipled timidity of the present Chief Magistrate that he has refused, as he states in his Annual Message, published last week, the overtures of France and England for a Treaty which shall guarantee to Spain the quiet possession of her Colony.

In this first letter of Mr. Buchanan's, we omit certain portions which relate to the products and revenues of Cuba, partly to save space, and partly because these passages are not at all necessary to an understanding of the character of the correspondence.

Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Saunders.—[Extract.]

[No. 21.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, June, 17, 1848.

SIR: By direction of the President, I now call your attention to the present condition and future prospects of Cuba. The fate of this island must ever be deeply interesting to the people of the United States. We are content that it shall continue to be a colony of Spain. Whilst in her possession, we have nothing to apprehend. Besides, we are bound to her by the ties of ancient friendship, and we sincerely desire to render these perpetual.

But we can never consent that this island shall become a colony of any other European Power. In the possession of Great Britain, or any strong naval Power, it might prove ruinous both to the domestic and foreign commerce, and even endanger the Union of States. The highest and first duty of every independent nation is to provide for its own safety; and, acting upon this principle, we should be compelled to resist the acquisition of Cuba by any powerful maratime State, with all the means which Providence has placed at our command.

Cuba is almost within sight of the Coast of Florida, situated between that State and the peninsula of Yucatan, and possessing the deep, capacious, and impregnably fortified habour of Havana. If this island were under the dominion of Great Britain, she could command both the inlets to the Gulf of Mexico. She would thus be enabled, in time of war, effectively to blockade the mouth of the Mississippi, and to deprive all the Western States of this Union, as well as those within the Gulf, teeming as they are with an industrious and enterprising population, of a foreign market for their immense productions. But this is not the worst: she could also destroy the commerce by sea between our ports on the Gulf and our Atlantic ports, a commerce of nearly as great a value as the whole of our foreign trade. Is there any reason to believe that Great Britain desires to acquire the island of Cuba? We know that it has been her uniform policy, throughout her past history, to seize upon every valuable commercial point throughout the world, whenever circumstances have placed this in her power. And what point so valuable as the island of Cuba?

The United States are the chief commercial rival of Great Britain; our tonage at the present moment is nearly equal to hers, and it will be greater, within a brief period, if nothing should occur to arrest our progress. Of what a vast importance would it, then, be to her to obtain the possession of an island from which she could at any time destroy a very large portion both of our foreign and coasting trade? Besides, she well knows that if Cuba were in our possession, her West India islands, would be rendered comparatively valueless. From the extent and fertility of this island, and from the energy and industry of our people, we should soon be able to supply the markets of the world with tropical productions, at a cheaper rate than these could be raised in any of her possessions. * * * *

But let me present another view of the subject. If Cuba were annexed to the United States, we should not only be relieved from the apprehensions which we can never cease to feel for our own safety and the security of our commerce, whilst it shall remain in its present condition, but human foresight cannot anticipate the beneficial consequences which would result to every portion of our Union.

This can never become a local question. With suitable fortification at the Tortugas, and in possession of the strongly fortified harbour of Havana as a naval station on the opposite coast of Cuba, we could command the outlet of the Gulf of Mexico, between the peninsula of Florida and that island. This would afford ample security both to the foreign and coasting trade of the Western and Southern States, which seek a market for their surplus productions through the ports on the gulf. * * *

Desirable, however, as the possession of this island may be to the United States, we would not acquire it except by the free will of Spain. Any acquisition not sanctioned by justice and honour would be too dearly purchased. While such is the determination of the President, it is supposed that the present relations between Cuba and Spain might incline the Spanish Government to cede the island to the United States, upon the payment of a fair and full consideration. We have received information from various sources, both official and unofficial, that among the Creoles of Cuba there has long existed a hostility to Spanish dominion. The revolutions which are rapidly succeeding each other throughout the world have inspired the Cubans with an ardent and irrepressible desire to achieve their independence. Indeed, we are informed by the Consul of the United States at Havana, "that there appears every probability that the island will soon be in a state of civil war." He also states that "efforts are now being made to raise money for that purpose in the United States, and there will be attempts to induce a few of the volunteer regiments now in Mexico to obtain their discharge and join the revolution."

I need scarcely inform you that the Government of the United States has had no agency whatever in exciting the spirit of disaffection among the Cubans. Very far from it. A short time after we received this information from our Consul, I addressed a dispatch to him, of which I transmit you a copy, dated on the instant, from which you will perceive that I have warned him to keep a watchful guard upon his words and actions, so as to avoid even the least suspicion that he had encouraged the Cubans to rise in insurrection against the Spanish Government. I stated also that the relations between Spain and the United States had long been of the most friendly character, and both honour and duty required that we should take no part in the struggle which he seemed to think was impending. I informed him that it would certainly become the duty of this Government to use all proper means to prevent any of our volunteer regiments now in Mexico from violating the neutrality of the country by joining in the proposed civil war of the Cubans against Spain. Since the date of my dispatch to him, this duty has been performed. The Secretary of War, by command of the President, on the day following (June 10), addressed an order to our commanding General in Mexico, and also to the officer having charge of the embarkation of our troops at Vera Cruz (of which I transfer you a copy), directing each of them to use all proper measures to counteract any such plan, if one should be on foot, and instructing them "To give orders that the transports on which the troops may embark proceed directly to the United States, and in no event to touch at any place in Cuba." The Consul, in his dispatch to me, also stated, that if the revolution is attempted and succeeds, immediate application would be made to the United States for annexation; but he did not seem to think that it would be successful, and probably would not be undertaken without the aid of American troops. To this portion of the dispatch I replied—knowing the ardent desire of the Cubans to be annexed to our Union—that I thought it would not be "difficult to predict that an unsuccessful rising would delay, if it should not defeat, the annexation of the Island to the United States;" and I assured him that the aid of our volunteer troops could not be obtained.

Thus you will perceive with what unscrupulous fidelity we have performed the duties of neutrality and friendship towards Spain. It is our anxious hope that a rising may not be attempted in Cuba; but if this should unfortunately occur, the Government of the United States will have performed their whole duty towards a friendly Power. * * * * *

The apprehensions which existed for many years after the origin of the Government, that the extension of our federal system would endanger the Union, seem to have passed away. Experience has proved that this system of confederated republics, under which the Federal Government has charge of interests common to the whole, whilst local governments watch over the concerns of the respective States, is capable of almost indefinite extension, with increasing strength. This, however, is always subject to the qualification that the mass of the population must be of our own race, or must have been educated in the school of civil and religious liberty. With this qualification, the more we increase the number of confederated States, the greater will be the strength and security of the Union, because the more dependant for their mutual interests will the several parts be upon the whole, and the whole upon the several parts. It is true that of the 418,291 white inhabitants which Cuba contained in 1851, a very large proportion is of the Spanish race; still, many of our citizens have settled on the island, and some of them are large holders of property. Under our Government it would speedily be *Americanized*, as Louisiana has been. Within the boundaries of such a federal system alone can a trade exempt from duties and absolutely free be enjoyed. With the possession of Cuba we should have throughout the Union a free trade on a more extended scale than any which the world has ever witnessed, arousing an energy and activity of competition which would result in a most rapid improvement in all that contributes to the welfare and happiness of the human race. What State would forego the advantages of this vast free trade with all her sisters, and place herself in lonely isolation? But the acquisition of Cuba would strengthen our bond of union. Its possession would secure to all the States within the valley of the Mississippi and Gulf of Mexico free access to the ocean; but this security could only be preserved while the ship-building and navigating States of the Atlantic shall furnish a navy sufficient to keep open the outlets from the gulf to the ocean. Cuba, justly appreciating the advantages of annexation, is now ready to rush into our arms. Once admitted, she would be entirely dependant for her prosperity, and even existence, upon her connection with the Union, while the rapidly increasing trade between her and the other States would shed its blessings and its benefits over the whole. Such a state of mutual dependence, resulting from the very nature of things, the world has never witnessed. This is what will ensure the perpetuity of our Union.

With all these considerations in view, the President believes that the crisis has arrived when an effort should be made to purchase the island of Cuba from Spain, and he has determined to entrust you with the performance of this most delicate and important duty. The attempt should be made, in the first instance, in a confidential conversation with the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs; a written offer might produce an absolute refusal in writing, which would embarrass us hereafter in the acquisition of the island. Besides, from the incessant changes in the Spanish cabinet and policy, our desire to make the purchase might thus be made known in an official form to Foreign Governments, and arouse their jealousy and active opposition. Indeed, even if the present Cabinet should think favourably of the proposition, they might be greatly embarrassed by having it placed on record; for in that event it would almost certainly, through some channel, reach the opposition and become the subject of discussion in the Cortes. Such delicate negotiations, at least in their incipient stages, ought always to be conducted in confidential conversation, and with the utmost secrecy and dispatch.

At your interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs you might introduce the subject by referring to the present distracted condition of Cuba, and the danger which exists that the population will make an attempt to accomplish a revolution. This must be well known to the Spanish Government. In order to convince him of the good faith and friendship towards Spain with which this Government has acted, you might read to him the first part of my dispatch to General Campbell, and the order issued by the Secretary of War to the Commanding General in Mexico, and to the officer having charge of the embarkation of our troops at Vera Cruz. You may then touch delicately upon the danger that Spain may lose Cuba by a revolution in the island, or that it may be wrested from her by Great Britain, should a rupture take place between the two countries arising out of the dismissal of Sir Henry Bulwer, and be retained to pay the Spanish debt due to the British bondholders. You might assure him that, while this Government is entirely satisfied that Cuba shall remain under the dominion of Spain, we should in any event resist its acquisition by any other nation. And, finally, you might inform him that, under all these circumstances, the President had arrived at the conclusion that Spain might be willing to transfer the island to the United States for a fair and full consideration. You might cite as a precedent the cession of Louisiana to this country by Napoleon, under somewhat similar circumstances, when he was at the zenith of his power and glory. I have merely presented these topics in their natural order, and you can fill up the outline from the information communicated in this dispatch, as well as from your own knowledge of the subject. Should the Minister of Foreign affairs lend a favourable ear to your proposition, then the question of the consideration to be paid would arise, and you have been furnished with information in this dispatch which will enable you to discuss that question. In justice to Mr. Calderon, I ought here to observe that, while giving me the information before stated, in regard to the net amount of revenue from Cuba which reached Old Spain, he had not then, and has not now, the most remote idea of our intention to make an attempt to purchase the island.

The President would be willing to stipulate for the payment of one hundred millions of dollars. This, however, is the maximum price; and if Spain should be willing to sell, you will use your best efforts to purchase it at a rate as much below this sum as practicable. In case you should be able to conclude a treaty, you may adopt as your model, so far as the same may be applicable, the two conventions of April 30, 1803, between France and the United States, for the sale and purchase of Louisiana. The seventh and eighth articles of these conventions ought, if possible, to be omitted; still, if this should be indispensable to the accomplishment of the object, articles similar to them may be retained.

I transmit you a full power to conclude such a treaty.

You will be careful to make a full and faithful report to this Department of all the conversations and proceedings on this subject between yourself and the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Should you succeed in accomplishing the object, you will associate your name with a most important and beneficial measure for the glory and prosperity of your country. Yours, very respectfully,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Mr. Saunders to Mr. Buchanan.—[Extracts.]

[No. 37.] LA GRANJA, July 29, 1848.

Sir: I had the honour to receive, by the hands of Mr. Sawyer, on the 24th inst., despatch No. 21, enclosing copies of a letter from the Department to Mr. Campbell, and of a confidential order from the Secretary of War to Major-General Butler, all relating to matters in Cuba, together with a special commission from the President, authorizing me to enter into negotiations for the cession of that island to the United States.

In acknowledging the receipt of these papers, I beg to express to the President my deep obligations for this distinguished mark of confidence in confiding to me so important and delicate a commission, and at the same time to express to you my thanks for the very full and valuable information you have given me in your despatch. I shall not fail to avail myself freely of its suggestions, facts, and arguments, in any negotiation I may have on the subject.

As I am directed to make a full and faithful report to the Department of everything which may transpire in connection with the subject, I have thought it advisable to avail myself of your directions to engage a special messenger to carry this communication as far as Liverpool, and to make it as full as I can at this time, so that in any future despatch I may refer to it in a way you will understand, without, at the same time, risking anything by a miscarriage.

There are difficulties which surround the subject which meet us at the threshold, and which it is proper I should explain, that you may be the better prepared as to the course I may find it necessary to pursue in the business. In the first place, I am not a little embarrassed as to the person to whom I should first open the subject. * * * *

I have also heard from another source that the Duke of Sotomayor was unfriendly to the United States. I have not myself discovered any feeling of the kind. On the contrary he always speaks with pride of his grandfather, Gov. McKean, and with respect of our country. Gen. Narvaez, the President of the Council, is a bold, fearless man, the soul of the Cabinet. * * * * *

* * * Yet he is difficult of approach, and might not like the responsibility of having the subject, in the first instance, broached to him. Another difficulty, and, as I fear, an insurmountable one, is the influence of the Queen Mother. She has great control over her daughter, and is feared by the Ministry, and I suspect would most decidedly object to the cession. She has considerable investments in Cuba, from which she derives great profits.

These investments are loudly complained of by the people of Havana, as interfering with their private matters, and such as the Queen Mother should not intermeddle with—such as gas-light companies, in a small way. She could not be silenced by a prospect of gain, or indemnity for her loss; but at this stage of the business it is not necessary she should know anything about it, unless the Minister should see fit to consult her. I have already intimated to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs my wish to have a private interview with him, and received an answer, through his secretary, that he was confined to his chamber by a severe attack of the gout, but would see me as soon as he was able to attend to business. Whether I shall ask an audience of Gen. Narvarez will depend on my meeting with a favourable opportunity for doing so.

At this stage of my report, I heard there was likely to be a change in the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

I deemed it prudent to see Gen. Narvaez, and ascertain the truth of the rumour. He readily informed me the health of the Duke of Stomayor rendered it necessary for him to retire, and that Mr. Pidal would take his place. I at once decided to ask a private interview of Gen. Narvaez, and to make to him my communication in regard to Cuba. He, without hesitation, acceded to my request, if it should be my pleasure to make any communication to him.

It was arranged I should call the next day, when he would receive me at an early hour. I accordingly called at the hour appointed, and opened the conversation by stating the information which had been given by Mr. Campbell relative to the threatened insurrection in the Havana, your instructions to our Consul as to the caution to be used in his words and actions, to avoid even the suspicion of encouraging the insurgents, and the positive order of the Secretary of War to Major General Butler to prevent any attempt on the part of the volunteers in their return from Mexico from stopping at the Havana. He expressed himself as thankful for the information; as entirely satisfied with the conduct of the Government; and requested me to express at *muchas gratias*, many thanks, to the President, for his course in the business.

He further said they had their difficulties to contend with in Cuba and at home, but should always look with confidence to our great country, from the friendly relations which had so long existed between Spain and the United States.

He requested to be furnished with copies of your answer and of the Secretary's order. I promised to give him a copy of the order to Gen. Butler, and of so much of your letter as referred to the subject—with the understanding that the information given by Mr. Campbell was not to be used in any way to excite prejudices against him as our Consul.

I considered this a favourable moment to introduce the subject which had been the peculiar object of my visit. I began by saying: "His Excellency would allow me to advert to another matter in regard to the Island of Cuba, which, though one of delicacy, was of great importance to us, and I trusted he would receive my communication in the same friendly spirit in which it was made." He replied it would afford him much pleasure to hear anything I might have to say. I continued: "His Excellency was fully aware of the very deep interest which the United States felt in everything connected with the present condition and future prospects of Cuba; its position, its great importance to our commerce, the condition of a portion of its population, were well calculated to increase the interest we felt in its fate." He expressed his full assent to all this. I said, "that while the President and our people were perfectly content that it should remain a Colony of Spain, and did not by any means desire to change that relation, several events had recently taken place well calculated to excite our fears, and to create some alarm on the subject. I should content myself by referring him to a few of them. The recent revolution in France, and the order by its Provisional Government for the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the French Islands, and the fatal consequences which had followed, had produced great anxiety in the United States as to its effects on the Spanish Islands. He would doubtless recollect the speech of Lord George Bentinck, at the last session of Parliament, on the subject of the Spanish bondholders, and of the reply of Lord Palmerston, asserting the right of the British Government to wage war against Spain for the recovery of these debts whenever it might deem it expedient." His Excellency very emphatically signified his recollection of these speeches. "These circumstances, in connection with the recent suspension of all diplomatic intercourse between the two Governments, had added to the anxiety of the United States, as to the condition of Cuba. They had led the President to believe the time had arrived when it was prudent for him to give to the Minister at this Court authority to treat on the subject of Cuba, if it should be the pleasure of her Catholic Majesty to enter into such a negotiation. I had been honoured by the President with a special commission for this purpose; a fact which I had been directed to communicate to the Government of her Majesty in confidence, and which, from the respect I entertained towards his Excellency, had induced me to make it known to him." He said, in reply, "That he received the information with much pleasure; that while he should consider it as confidential, it might be best that the Minister of State should be made acquainted with it; that he enjoyed his full confidence, and might be implicitly confided in." I rejoined: "I did not doubt on that score; but had thought, from the nature of the subject, as the Minister of State was just about to enter upon the duties of his office, it was most proper to make the communication to his Excellency."

Here our conference ended. As you see, I was somewhat guarded in the latter part of my expressions, and that the Minister was not very explicit in his reply. He evidently was pleased with the communication. He was not only courteous and respectful, but manifested the greatest attention and interest during the whole of the conversation. I deemed it most prudent not to use the word "cession," and am not exactly certain that he understood me as being authorized to treat for the cession, or merely for the security of Cuba. At all events, I did not think it politic, at this stage of the business, to be more explicit or to press the matter further. I have opened the subject, apprised him of my authority, and can hereafter advert to the subject as circumstances may justify. I am well satisfied nothing will induce the Spanish Government to part with Cuba but the apprehension of a successful revolution in the island, or the fear of its seizure by England. The national pride and character of these people would not induce them readily to give up on the first point. I have reason to know the Government are not without their fears on the latter point. As I learn, private letters from England give them to understand that Lord Palmerston is disposed to give them trouble, and that the bondholders are pressing that something decisive should be done in their behalf. If the Government shall entertain any serious fears in regard to the matter, they would likely open the subject, and thus enable me to bring forward a formal proposition to treat for a cession. I deem it, therefore, the better policy to suffer the [illegible] for the present. The court will remain here for some weeks, when I shall have the opportunity of meeting the Ministers in an informal way, without attracting that attention which our official visits in Madrid would likely excite. Besides, I can, at my discretion, as the matter now stands, renew the subject with the new Secretary, which I shall most earnestly do should I discover the least ground to suspect that they are labouring under any misapprehension as to my conversation with General Narvaez.

Mr. Pidal belongs to the French party, is strongly prejudiced against the English, and will warmly second Gen. Narvaez on that point. He was Secretary of War at the time of the Queen's marriage; is the brother-in-law of Mon, who was the Minister of Finance at the time, and the great co-labourer of Count Bresson, in support of the Montpensier marriage. Still he is strongly Spanish in his feeling and character, and not likely to join in promoting an act calculated to shock the national pride. On the other hand, he is a bold, rough, independent man, and would fearlessly carry out any measure he would undertake. Of the Queen Mother I have already spoken, so that you have a pretty accurate idea of the persons with whom I have to deal, and of the probability of success. You will naturally inquire if the state of the finances is to have no effect on the question. With an empty treasury, and the expenses daily increasing; with the credit of the Government so far reduced as to be driven to the necessity of resorting to a forced loan to raise the small sum of five millions, one would suppose such a state of things as this wonld be the first consideration with those charged with the administration of the Government. But, unfortunately, such is the desperate state of the finances, and of the public debt, that all seem to despair of correcting them. The foreign debt is estimated at four hundred millions of dollars, of which the agent of the English creditors claims two hundred and fifty millions. Of the domestic debt, what is the amount no one seems to know; 'tis said even the Government keeps no account of it; or, if it does, will not let it be known. It is stated at three hundred millions three per cent., exchangeable for certain kinds of public property. Mr. Henderson is still at Madrid, acting as agent of the bondholders, and boasts of occassionally receiving a note of promise from Gen. Narvaez. The fact is, I expect he is merely kept there for appearances. I do not see how they can well meet the heavy demand on the treasury, even if so disposed. Certainly, they cannot, without that radical reform which no Ministry has the resolution to undertake. The average receipts for the last four or five years have been sixty-five millions of dollars, and the expenditures seventy millions. The army is computed at one hundred and fifty thousand in the Peninsula, fifteen or twenty thousand for Cuba, and fifteen thousand for the other colonies. As matters now stand, when the country is governed by the bayonet, there is little prospect of a reduction.

The Government places a much higher estimate on the revenues of Cuba than you seem to calculate. They place it at twelve millions of dollars; and, after deducting the expenses of civil and military, claim for the treasury six millions. Besides this, the orders or rents on the treasury, pay to the navy, and employment to persons who would be entitled to retiring pensions at home, together with the profits from the flour monopoly, make, according to the estimate here, some fifteen or twenty millions annually. I doubt, therefore, if we have anything to calculate on from a financial view of the question. Hence my conclusion that nothing short of necessity, arising from their fears as to the consequences, will force them to act.

Allow me now to present the view I ventured to hint at some short time since. In Mr Forsyth's instructions to Mr. Vail, 15th July, 1840, No. 2, is to be found the following very strong language: "You are authorized to assure the Spanish Government that in case of any attempt, from whatever quarter, to wrest from her this portion of her territory (Cuba), she may securely depend upon the military and naval resources of the United States to aid her in preserving or recovering it." This assurance was accordingly given by Mr. Vail, and again repeated by Mr. Irving, under his instructions from Mr. Webster. With this guaranty for the safety of the Island, the Spanish Government has rested in perfect security. At the time of Mr. Bulwer's dismissal, when the public apprehended a rupture with England, it was a common remark at the Puerta del Sol—the great theatre for political discussion—"that the United States would aid us in the protection of Cuba." Now, while I would not formally withdraw

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

this assurance, I suggest the propriety of changing our tone by saying, "In a war between Spain and England, the United States might feel greatly embarrassed, from her friendly relations with England; that she is not only our ally, with whom we are at peace, but with whom at present we have the most intimate commercial relations; that whatever we may think of her colonial policy, in the extension of her commerce and for the advancement of her manufactures, the United States would feel great reluctance in an open rupture with her at this time; besides, she might claim from us the same neutrality in a war with Spain as she had observed in our late contest with Mexico." This language might do good; and, as I think, could do us no harm. And whatever might be our secret resolution—that under no circumstances could we allow Cuba to come under the control of England—still it might be as well for us to keep this resolution to ourselves.

In my interviews hereafter with the Minister I shall venture to present this view of the subject, as a reason why we should greatly prefer the purchase of Cuba to any interference to prevent its falling into the power of England.

I have thus given you a full account of what has taken place since the reception of your dispatch—of the difficulties which surround this subject, of my prospects, and of the course I design to pursue in regard to this interesting subject. I feel highly flattered in having confided to me a trust in whose successful execution I should connect my name with one of the most important events in our diplomatic history.

I am, sir, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. M. SAUNDERS.

JAMES BUCHANAN, Esq., Secretary of State.

Mr. Saunders to Mr. Buchanan.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES.
MADRID, August 18, 1848.

SIR: I reached here this morning from La Granja, and was somewhat surprised to find the gentleman who had engaged to carry my dispatch to Liverpool had not yet left, but expects to do so to-night. It is perhaps as well, as it enables me to add information on the subject of a more definite character. On the 5th instant I had an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which I was more explicit in my communication, and he more candid in his reply. I repeated the interest which the United States felt to the present and future condition of Cuba, and the belief of the President that possibly the existing state of things might render it desirable for her Majesty to enter into negotiations on the subject. He said he had been informed by General Narvaez of the nature of my communication to him, and of my authority; that, if I wished to press the matter further at this time, he should like to hear whether I proposed to treat for the cession of Cuba to the United States, or for its security to Spain; and, in the event of a difficulty with England, whether Spain could rely for any aid from the United States.

I answered, that it was from the fear of a difficulty with England, and the threat on her part to seize on Cuba, which had, in part, induced the President to give me the special authority he had done at present; that, as his Excellency would see, an open rupture between Spain and England—the allies of the United States—might greatly embarrass her as to the part which she, as a neutral, might find it necessary to take; that while self-preservation and the interest of her commerce might prevent her from remaining passive in the event of any pressing danger, she would greatly prefer a direct purchase of Cuba involving herself in a war with England on that account. He said he fully understood our difficulty; that, from the present state of things, he did not anticipate anything of the kind; that it was but candid in him to say he could not hold out any prospect, at present, of a cession; that, possibly, time might bring it about. Cuba was reported to them as being secure, but there was no telling how long it might remain so. He was pleased to receive my communication; should treat it as entirely confidential; and if anything should occur to produce a different state of things, he should not fail to inform me of it.

The above is, in substance, what transpired. I did not deem it prudent to urge the matter further at this time, but shall not fail to keep myself fully informed of everything which may occur, and should I see the least prospect of success, shall, of course, avail myself of it.

You may possibly see in the English papers some reference to the relations with Spain, and the anxiety on the part of the latter to have these matters accommodated. I doubt if this be [illegible] I am certain General Narvaez has manifested no anxiety on the subject. Senior Mon has just come into the cabinet as Minister of Finance. He is the brother-in-law of the Minister of State; is the peculiar friend and partisan of Christina; is reported an honest man, and from his character, is likely to improve the moneyed matters of the country. The calculation is that he and Narvaez may not continue to act very long with much harmony. I doubt if he is likely to contribute anything to my success in regard to Cuba. I have received from the Minister of State the note, a copy of which I enclose, inviting me, as you will see, to be present at the accouchment of the Duchess of Montpensier. As I found most of the diplomatic corps intended going, I deemed it proper for me to accept, and shall go off within a few days. This may seem rather a ridiculous matter to us, but, as you know, is considered a necessary ceremony among the royal families of Europe. I have been given to understand my prompt acceptance was quite gratifying, both to the Queen and her mother. I trust, therefore, in the absence of any direct instructions, the President will approve of my course. I am, sir, very respectfully,

R. M. SAUNDERS.

JAMES BUCHANAN, Esq., &c., &c.

Mr. Saunders to Mr. Buchanan.

[No. 42.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
MADRID, Nov. 17, 1848.

SIR: There appears in the New York *Herald* of the 20th October, a letter purporting to be from a Madrid correspondent, and to have been written by an American. It reflects in no very polite manner on this Legation, and refers to negotiations which the writer assumes as pending for the cession of Cuba to the United States. These statements, with the editorial of the *Herald*, have been copied into the English and French papers, and, as you will see from the enclosed articles, have been noticed by the press here. I deemed it proper to call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to assure him the matter had found its way into the press without any authority from anything done or said on the part of myself or the Secretary of this Legation. He said he had no suspicion of anything of that kind, but supposed it a trick of the newspaper editors, or of some one, for the purpose of mischief; that it was somewhat annoying, as it was calculated to produce a bad effect in their colonies. I assured him I had taken steps to have the matter set right at home, and to find out, if I could, the author of the letter. He expressed himself, as satisfied, and the matter dropped. You will see, from the articles enclosed, the spirit in which the question of cession is received, and the feeling of the public on the subject. It is certain they regard Cuba as their most precious gem, and nothing short of extreme necessity will ever induce them to part with it. There are some statements in the publication which I feel called upon to notice. It is utterly untrue that I have ever found it necessary to consult any one unconnected with the legation, in my intercourse with the Government. On the contrary, some of the Secretaries of Foreign Affairs since my being here have spoken English, and I have at no time been embarrassed on that account, as the Under-Secretary is a good English scholar. So the statement does great injustice to Mr. Sawyer, as he is a good French scholar, speaks it well, and is fully qualified to converse in and to translate the Spanish. I regret to say these references, with other allusions in the letter, have excited my suspicions as to the author. In this I may be mistaken. I deem it proper to inform you, as the letter refers to negotiations which the writer says took place during the mission of my predecessor, I felt at liberty to write to Mr. Irving, requesting him to say to Mr. Bennett the statements in the letter were false, and to endeavour, if practicable, to find out its author. You can, therefore, if you should see fit, communicate direct with Mr. Irving, or await his answer to my letter. If my suspicions as to the author of the letter shall prove to be well-founded, he certainly deserves to be exposed; if unfounded, then it will give pleasure to have them removed. * * * *

I have had no encouragement to renew the subject in regard to Cuba; so far as I have been able to collect the opinion of the public, it is against a cession, and I do not think the present Ministry could or would venture on such a step; both Pical and Mon are against it, and Narvaez says nothing. I am, sir, very respectfully,

R. M. SAUNDERS.

JAMES BUCHANAN, Esq., Secretary of State.

Mr. Saunders to Mr. Buchanan—[Extract].

[No. 43.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
MADRID, Dec. 14, 1848.

As I considered this a favourable opportunity to renew the subject, I remarked to the Minister he must excuse me for again calling his attention to the matter of the cession of Cuba; that an impression had been produced in the United States, in consequence of some recent publications on the subject, that Spain might be induced to make the transfer, if terms sufficiently liberal should be offered; and I desired to know if he was willing to hear anything further on the question. He answered, he had understood, from our former conversations on the subject, that I had not been instructed to make any direct proposition for the cession, but was authorized to enter into negotiations whenever it might please her Majesty to signify her wish to do so.

In the meantime the President was satisfied to suffer things to remain as they were, so long as Cuba should continue under the dominion of Spain. With this understanding, my communication had been well received, and was entirely satisfactory; that, so understanding me, he had felt authorized to give a direct denial to the publications to which I had referred, and had so instructed the different agents of the Government; that he wished the matter thus to stand, as it would enable him to give, in a satisfactory way, any explanations which might be demanded by the Cortes. I replied he had correctly understood me, and I had so reported to my Government, and had since received the President's approval of my course; that I did not now design to make any proposition, as I had received no new instructions; but my object was a simple inquiry, to enable me to learn and to state whether any terms, however liberal, would induce Her Majesty to make the cession.

He answered, he fully appreciated my motives, as he had seen the statement in the papers, and could answer most positively "that it was more than any Minister dare to entertain such proposition; that he believed such to be the feeling of the country; that, sooner than see the island transferred to *any Power*, they would prefer seeing it sunk in the ocean." I replied, I was happy to find he understood my motives, and after his positive and candid avowal, I certainly should not again renew the subject, unless I should be specially invited to do so. I was fully aware of this being an unpleasant subject with the Ministry; that they had been much annoyed by the recent publications; but as I had heard from private sources that an improper impression had been produced in the United States, in consequence of the articles in the *New York Herald*, and that I had been charged with inefficiency in failing to press the matter with sufficient energy; and as I was anxious to vindicate myself against such an imputation, and to justify the confidence reposed in me by the President, I felt authorized to renew the conversation, which ended in a way, as I think, to the satisfaction of the Minister. I had made it my business to inquire, in a private way, from those I knew to be friendly to the annexation of Cuba to the United States, what they thought to be the public feeling on the subject, and they have uniformly given the same answer; and that was, whatever might be paid for the cession, it would not go to the relief of the nation, but would be seized upon by those who might happen to be in power. And these remarks were always made under the strictest injunctions of secresy, as the individuals were most anxious to conceal the fact that they were friendly to annexation.

I flatter myself the President will not disapprove of what I have felt myself called upon to do, as the matter is now placed beyond all misapprehension, and will be fully understood in future. I might, indeed, have manifested a more active and zealous importunity; but it would have had that pressing importunity alike wanting in dignity and unauthorized by usage, and which certainly was not becoming a question of this character. I was satisfied a direct proposition would have been met with a flat rejection, and might have left a bad impression; whereas the communication was well received, and may, in the end, produce a good effect. For the present, I am well convinced, such is the feeling and temper of the nation in regard to the matter, that it would not have been in the power of the most skilful diplomatist to have commanded success; and it is because of my conviction that nothing is to be effected on either of these important subjects that I am most anxious to close my mission, and to return to my own country. And, as this is likely to be the last communication which I shall have the honour to make you on this interesting subject, I avail myself of the occasion to renew to the President my grateful acknowledgments for the high confidence reposed in me, and to express my deep regret that it has not been in my power to add to the other important matters which have marked his administration as one of the most distinguished in the annals of our country.

I remain, sir, with highest respect and esteem, your obedient servant, R. M. SAUNDERS.

JAMES BUCHANAN, Esq., Secretary of State.

We now copy several letters and extracts from letters of anterior dates, to illustrate the views of, and the course pursued by, this Government through a series of years.

Mr. Adams to Mr. Forsyth.—[Extract.]

[SECRET.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Dec. 17, 1822.

SIR: The present condition of the island of Cuba has excited much attention, and has become of deep interest to this Union. From the public dispatch and other papers which you will receive with this, you will perceive the great and continued injuries which our commerce is suffering from pirates issuing from thence, the repeated demands made upon the authorities of the island for their suppression, and the exertions, but partially effectual, of our own naval force against them. There is another point of view, however, in which the condition of the island is yet more an object of concern. From various sources, intimations have been received here that the British Government have it in contemplation to obtain possession of the island. It is even asserted, from sources to which some credit is due, that they have been for more than two years in secret negotiation with Spain for the cession of the island; and it is added that Spain, though disinclined to such an arrangement, might resist it with more firmness, if, for a limited period of time, she could obtain the joint guarantee of the United States and France, securing the island to herself.

There is reason, also, to believe that the future political condition of the Island is a subject of much anxiety and of informal deliberations among its own inhabitants; that both France and Great Britain have political agents there observing the course of events, and perhaps endeavouring to give them different directions. The President has, therefore, determined to dispatch to you a special messenger to deliver this letter; upon receipt of which he wishes you to take such measures as may be adapted to obtain correct information whether such a negotiation as has been above suggested is on foot between Spain and Great Britain; and, if so, to communicate to the Spanish Government, in a manner adapted to the delicacy of the case, the sentiments of this Government in relation to this subject, which are favourable to the continuance of Cuba in its connection with Spain.

JOHN FORSYTH, *Minister Plenipotentiary U. S., Madrid.*

John Forsyth to the Secretary of State.—[Extract.]

[No. 58.] MADRID, February 10, 1828.

SIR: * * * I reminded Mr. San Miguel that there were portions of the Spanish dominions whose vicinity to our territory rendered us deeply interested in their fate, naming particular the island of Cuba; that in the event of war with France, hostilities with Colombia and Mexico continuing, the situation of the island would be extremely critical. I requested, therefore, to be informed whether the local force in that island was sufficient to defend it against a sudden attack, and whether this Government contemplated to increase its force in that quarter. He seemed, at first, to understand it; he said the local force was sufficient for the present; that the Government would occupy itself immediately with that subject; that they relied *upon their own resources and upon us* for the security of the island. To this plain remark I could only reply that, without instructions, I could only speak of what I supposed to be the wishes of my Government and believed to be the interest of the United States; that we desired no other neighbour in Cuba but Spain; that I felt confident the United States would do everything in their power, consistent with their obligations, to prevent Cuba from being wrested from Spain; that he was no doubt aware that there could be no understanding between the two Governments on this point without a reference to Washington. He said he was aware of that, and should, as soon as the question here, which was varying every moment, was settled, give instructions to the Spanish Minister in the United States on this subject.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Secretary of State.

Mr. Adams to Mr. Nelson.—[Extract.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 28, 1823.

In the war between France and Spain, now commencing, other interests, peculiarly ours, will, in all probability, be deeply involved. Whatever may be the issue of this war, as between these two European powers, it may be taken for granted that the dominion of Spain upon the American Continent, North and South, is irrevocably gone. But the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico still remain nominally, and so far really, dependant upon her, that she yet possesses the power of transferring her own dominion over them, together with the possession of them, to others. These islands, from their local position and natural appendages to the North American continent, and one of them, Cuba, almost in sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations, has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position, with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas; the character of its population; its situation midway between our Southern coast and the island of St. Domingo; its safe and capacious harbour of the Havana, fronting a long line of our shores destitute of the same advantage; the nature of its productions and of its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial, give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared, and little inferior to that which binds the differeunt members of this Union together. Such indeed are, between the interests of that island and of this country, the geographical, commercial, moral and political relations, formed by nature, gathering, in the process of time, and even now verging to maturity, that, in looking forward to the probable course of events, for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our Federal Republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself. It is obvious, however, that for this event we are not prepared. Numerous and formidable objections to the extension of our territorial dominions beyond sea present themselves to the first contemplation of the subject; obstacles to the system of policy by which alone that result can be compassed and maintained are to be forseen and surmounted, both from at home and abroad; but there are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation; and if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which, by the law of nature, cannot cast her off from its bosom.

In any other state of things than that which springs from this incipient war between France and Spain, these considerations would be premature. They are now merely touched upon to illustrate the position that, in the war opening upon Europe, the United States have deep and important interests involved, peculiarly their own—the condition of Cuba cannot but depend upon the issue of this war. As an integral part of the Spanish territories, Cuba has been formally and solemnly invested with the liberties of the Spanish Constitution. To destroy those liberties, and to restore in the stead of that constitution the dominion of the Bourbon race, is the avowed object of this new invasion of the Peninsula. There is too much reason to apprehend that, in Spain itself, this unhallowed purpose will be attended with immediate, or at least with temporary, success. The Constitution of Spain will be demolished by the armies of the Holy Alliance, and the Spanish nation will again bow the neck to the yoke of bigotry and despotic sway. Whether the purposes of France or of her continental allies extend to the subjugation of the remaining Ultra Marine possessions of Spain or not, has not yet been sufficiently disclosed. But to confine ourselves to that which immediately concerns us—the condition of the Island of Cuba—we know that the Republican spirit of freedom prevails among its inhabitants. The liberties of the constitution are to them rights in possession; nor is it to be presumed that they will be willing to surrender them because they may be extinguished by foreign violence in the parent-country. As Spanish territory, the island will be liable to invasion from France during the war; and the only reasons for doubting whether the attempt will be made are the probable incompetency of the French maritime force to effect the conquest, and the probability that its accomplishment would be resisted by Great Britain. In the mean time, and at all events, the condition of the island, in regard to that of its inhabitants, is a condition of great imminent and complicated danger; and without resorting to speculation upon what such a state of things must produce upon a people so situated, we know that its approach has already had a powerful effect upon them, and that the question, what they are to do upon contingencies daily pressing upon them and ripening into reality, has for the last twelve months constantly excited their attention and stimulated them to action. Were the population of the island of one blood and colour, there could be no doubt or hesitation with regard to the course which they would pursue, as dictated by their interests and their rights: the invasion of Spain by France would be the signal for their declaration of independence. That even in their present state it will be imposed upon them as a necessity, is not unlikely; but among all their reflecting men it is admitted as a maxim fundamental to all deliberation upon their future condition, that they are not competent for a system of permanent self-dependence; they must rely for the support of protection upon some force from without; and, in the event of the overthrow of the Spanish constitution, that support can no longer be expected from Spain—their only alternative of dependence must be upon Great Britain or upon the United States. Hitherto the wishes of this Government have been that the connection between Cuba and Spain should continue as it has existed for several years; these wishes are known to the principal inhabitants of the Island, and instructions, copies of which are now furnished you, were some months since transmitted to Mr. Forsyth, authorizing him in a suitable manner to communicate them to the Spanish Government. These wishes still continue, so far as they can be indulged with a rational foresight of events beyond our control, but for which it is our duty to be prepared. If a Government is to be imposed by foreign violence upon the Spanish nation, and the liberties which they have asserted by their Constitution are to be crushed, it is neither to be expected nor desired that the people of Cuba, far from the reach of the oppressors of Spain, should submit to be governed by them. Should the cause of Spain herself issue more propitiously than from its present prospects can be anticipated, it is obvious that the trial through which she must pass at home, and the final loss of *all* her dominions on the American continents, will leave her unable to extend to the Island of Cuba that protection necessary for its internal security and its outward defence.

Mr. Clay to Mr. Everett.—[Extract.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April, 1825.

Besides the preceding objects, to which your attention will be directed, others of great interest will also claim it. Of these, that of the highest importance is the present war between Spain and her former colonies on this Continent. The President wishes you to bring this subject, in the most conciliatory manner possible, before the Spanish Government; it would be as unnecessary as unprofitable to look to the past, except for the purpose of guiding future conduct. True wisdom dictates that Spain, without indulging in unavailing regrets on account of what she has irretrievably lost, should employ the means of retrieving what she may yet preserve from the wreck of her former possessions. The war upon the continent is, in fact, at an end, and not a solitary foot of land from the western limits of the United States to Cape Horn owns her sway, not a bayonet in all that vast extent remains to sustain her cause, and the peninsula is utterly incompetent to replace those armies which have been vanquished and annihilated by the victorious forces of the new Republics. What possible objects, then, can remain to Spain to protract war which she can no longer maintain, and to the conclusion of which, in form, there is only wanting the recognition of the new Governments by treaties of peace? If there were left the most distant prospect of her reconquering her continental provinces which have achieved their independence, there might be a motive for perseverance. But every expectation of such reconquest, it is manifest, must be perfectly chimerical; if she can entertain no rational hope to recover what has been forced from her grasp, is there not great danger of her losing what she yet but feebly holds? It should be borne in mind that the armies of the new States, flushed with victory, have no longer employment on the continent; and yet, whilst the war continues, if it be only in name, they cannot be disbanded without a disregard of all the maxims of just precaution.

To what object, then, will the new republics direct their powerful and victorious armies? They have a common interest and a common enemy; and let it be supposed that that enemy, weak and exhausted as he is, refuses to make peace, will they not strike wherever they can reach? And, from the proximity and great value of Porto Rico, is it not to be anticipated that they will aim, and aim a successful blow, too, at those Spanish islands? Whilst they would operate from without, means would doubtless be at the same time employed to stimulate the population within to a revolt; and that the disposition exists among the inhabitants, to a considerable extent, to throw off the Spanish authority, is well known. It is due to the United States to declare that they have constantly declined to give any countenance to that disposition.

It is not then, for the new Republics that the President wishes you to urge upon Spain the expediency of concluding the war; their interest is probably on the side of its continuance, if any nation can have an interest in a state of war. But it is for Spain herself, for the cause of humanity, for the general repose of the world, that you are required, with all the delicacy which belongs to the subject, to use every topic of persuasion to impress upon the councils of Spain the propriety, by a formal pacification, of terminating the war; and, as the views and policy of the United States in regard to those islands, may possibly have some influence, you are authorized frankly and fully to disclose them. The United States are satisfied with the present condition of those islands in the hands of Spain, and with their ports open to our commerce as they are now open; this Government desires no political change of that condition. The population itself of the islands is incompetent at present, from its composition and its amount, to maintain self-government. The maritime force of the neighbouring Republics of Mexico and Colombia is not now, nor is it likely shortly to be, adequate to the protection of those islands if the conquest of them were effected. The United States would entertain constant apprehensions of their passing from their possession to that of some less friendly sovereignty; and of all the European Powers this country prefers that Cuba and Porto Rico should remain dependant on Spain. If the war should continue between Spain and the new Republics, and those islands should become the object and the theatre of it, their fortunes have such a connection with the prosperity of the United States, that they could not be indifferent spectators; and the possible contingencies of such a protracted war might bring upon the Government of the United States duties and obligations the performances of which, however it should be, they might not be at liberty to decline. A subsidiary consideration in favour of peace deserving some weight is, that, as the war has been the parent cause of the shocking piracies in the West Indies, its termination would be probably followed by their cessation; and thus the Government of Spain, by one act, would fulfil the double obligation under which it lies to foreign Governments of repressing enormities, the perpetrators of which find refuge, if not succour, in Spanish territory, and that to the Spanish nation itself of promoting its real interest.

Mr. Van Buren to Mr. Van Ness.—[Extract].

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Oct. 2. 1829.

One of the considerations which the Ministers of the United States who preceded you at the Court of his Catholic Majesty were advised to press upon his Government, as an inducement for him to terminate the contest with his late colonies, is the preservation of his insular possessions in the West Indies, which still constitute a part of the Spanish monarchy. Cuba and Porto Rico, occupying as they do a most important geographical position, have been viewed by the neighbouring States of Mexico and Colombia as military and naval arsenals, which would at all times furnish Spain with the means of threatening their commerce, and even of endangering their political existence. Looking with a jealous eye upon these last remnants of Spanish power in America, these two States had once united their forces: and their arm, raised to strike a blow which, if successful, would forever have extinguished Spanish influence in that quarter of the globe, was arrested chiefly by the timely interposition of this Government, which, in a friendly spirit towards Spain, and for the interests of general commerce, thus assisted in preserving to his Catholic Majesty these invaluable portions of his colonial possessions.

The Government of the United States has always looked with the deepest interest upon the fate of those islands, but particularly of Cuba. Its geographical position, which places it almost in sight of our Southern shores, and, as it were, gives it the command of the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas; its safe and capacious harbours; its rich productions, the exchange of which, for our suplus agricultural products, and manufactures, constitutes one of the most extensive and valuable branches of our foreign trade, render it of the utmost importance to the United States, that no change should take place in its condition, which might injuriously affect our political and commercial standing in that quarter. Other considerations, connected with a certain class of our population, make it the interest of the Southern section of the Union, that no attempt should be made in that island to throw off the yoke of Spanish dependence, the first effect of which would be the sudden emancipation of a numerous slave population, the result of which could not but be very sensibly felt upon the adjacent shores of the United States. On the other hand, the wisdom which induced the Spanish Government to relax in its colonial system, and to adopt with regard to those islands a more liberal policy, which opened their ports to general commerce, has been so far satisfactory in the view of the United States as, in addition to other considerations, to induce this Government to desire that their possession should not be transferred from the Spanish crown to any other power. In conformity with this desire, the Ministers of the United States at Madrid have, from time to time, been instructed attentively to watch the course of events, and the secret springs of European diplomacy, which, from information received from various quarters, this Government had reason to suspect had been put in motion to effect the transfer of the possession of Cuba to the powerful allies of Spain. It has been intimated at one time that the armed interference of France in the affairs of that country would extend over her insular possessions, and that a military occupation of Cuba was to take place for the alleged purpose of protecting it against foreign invasion or internal revolutionary movements. A similar design was imputed to the Government of Great Britain, and it was stated that in both cases a continuance of the occupation of the Island was to constitute, in the hands of either of those Powers, a guarantee for the payment of heavy indemuites claimed by France, on the one hand, to cover the expenses of her armies of occupation, and by Great Britain, on the other, to compensate her subjects for spoilations alleged to have been committed upon their commerce. The arrangements entered into by Spain with those two Powers, by means of treaties of a recent date, and providing for the payment of those indemnities, although removing the pretext upon which the occupation of Cuba would have been justified, are not believed entirely to obviate the possibility of its eventually being effected. The Government of the United States considers as a much stronger pledge of its continuance under the dominion of Spain the considerable military and naval armaments which have recently been added to the ordinary means of defence in that island, and which are supposed fully adequate for its protection against any attempt on the part of foreign Powers, and for the suppression of any insurrectionary movement on that of its inhabitants. Notwithstanding these apparent securities for the maintenance of the Spanish authority in the Island of Cuba, as it is not impossible that Spain, in her present embarrassed and dependent situation, might be induced to yield her assent to a temporary occupation of it, as a pledge for the fulfilment of her engagements, or to part with her right of property in it for other considerations, affording immediate relief in the hour of her distress, it is the wish of the President that the same watchfulness which had engaged the attention of your predecessors in relation to this subject should be continued during your administration of the affairs of the Legation of the United States at Madrid, and that you should take special care to keep this Department informed of every occurrence whose tendency, direct or indirect, might, in your judgment, bring about any change in the present condition of the Island of Cuba.

Your predecessors, who had been repeatedly instructed to that effect, have availed themselves of every fit opportunity to make the wishes and policy of the United States, with regard to the Spanish Islands, fully known to the Government of his Catholic Majesty, whom you will find already possessed of every information which you will have it in your power to communicate upon this head; but it is not improbable that the same inquisitiveness which has hitherto been manifested on the part of that Government, in relation to it may again be evinced by the Spanish Ministers, who, affecting to construe the avowed anxiousness of the United States into a determination not to suffer the possession of Cuba to pass into the hands of other Powers, have inquired how far this Government would go in sustaining that determination. Should similar inquiries be made of you by the Ministers of His Catholic Majesty, you are authorized to say that the long established and well-known policy of the United States, which forbids their entangling themselves in the concerns of other nations, and which permits their physical force to be used only for the defence of their political rights, and the protection of the persons and property of their citizens, equally forbids their public agents to enter into positive engagements, the performance of which would require the employment of means which the people have retained in their own hands; but that this Government has every reason to believe that that the same influence which once averted the blow ready to fall upon the Spanish Islands would again be effectual on the recurrence of similar events; and that the high preponderance in American affairs of the United States as a great naval Power, the influence which they must at all times command, as a great commercial nation, in all questions involving the interests of the general commerce of this hemisphere, would render their consent an essential preliminary to the execution of any project calculated so vitally to affect the general concerns of all the nations in any degree engaged in the commerce of America. The knowledge you possess of the public sentiment of this country in regard to Cuba will enable you to speak with confidence and effect of the probable consequences that might be expected from the communication of that sentiment to Congress, in the event of any contemplated change in the present political condition of that Island.

Mr. Van Buren to Mr. Van Ness.—[Extract].

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Oct. 13, 1830.

This Government has also been given to understand that, if Spain should persevere in the assertion of a hopeless claim to dominion over her former colonies, they will feel it to be their duty, as well as their interest, to attack her colonial possessions in our vicinity, Cuba and Porto Rico. Your general instructions are full upon the subject of the interest which the United States take in the fate of those islands, and particularly of the former; they inform you that we are content that Cuba should remain as it now is, but could not consent to its transfer to any European Power. Motives of reasonable State policy render it more desirable to us that it should remain subject to Spain rather than to either of the South American States. Those motives will readily present themselves to your mind; they are principally founded upon an apprehension that if possessed by the latter, it would, in the present state of things, be in greater danger of becoming subject to some European Power than in its present condition. Although such are our own wishes and true interests, the President does not see on what ground he would be justified in interfering with any attempts which the South American States might think it for their interest, in the prosecution of a defensive war, to make upon the islands in question. If, indeed, an attempt should be made to disturb them, by putting arms in the hands of one portion of their population to destroy another, and which in its influence would endanger the peace of a portion of the United States, the case might be different. Against such an attempt the United States (being informed that it was in contemplation) have already protested and warmly remonstrated, in their communications last Summer with the Government of Mexico; but the information lately communicated to us in this regard was accompanied by a solemn assurance that no such measures will, in any event, be resorted to; and that the contest, if forced upon them, will be carried on, on their part, with strict reference to the established rules of civilized warfare.

[Private and Confidential.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Jan. 14, 1843.

SIR: A communication, from a highly respectable source, has just been received at this Department, which purports to contain information of so serious a nature, in regard to the present condition of the island of Cuba, that the President has come to the conclusion that it is expedient to lose no time in ascertaining, if practicable, how far the real facts of the case may correspond with the representations. The name of the individual from whom these accounts have come is, for good reasons, withheld. It is sufficient to say that they come from the island, and have been transmitted from thence by a person of high standing, whose statements, as we are told by those who know the source, are believed to be entitled to as much consideration as those of any individual in Cuba. Acting under this belief, and influenced by the consideration that this Government has frequently received intimations from various quarters in regard to Cuba, which give a colour of probability to the statements which have thus been recently received, the President has instructed me to make this communication to you, to call your attention to the matter, and to desire you to transmit all the information you possess, or can obtain, in regard to it.

The necessity of absolute secresy in everything that relates to the inquiries you are directed to make, and in the transmission of their result to your Government, has obliged us to send to Havana a special messenger, who will take charge of and deliver to you in person this letter, and who will be directed to remain with you for some short time to afford you opportunity to prepare a reply, and to impart all the intelligence which may be within your reach.

It is proper, however, to apprise you that it is highly desirable that there should be as little detention as possible, as the President is exceedingly anxious to be well informed upon the subject at the earliest practicable moment.

The messenger is unacquainted with the contents of this letter, and it is not necessary or desirable that the subject of this correspondence should be in any way made known to him. The amount of the information which has been received is this: the writer represents himself as bound in honour not to reveal what he has made known to his correspondent in the United States to the local authorities of Cuba, for reasons which can only be guessed at.

His statements, confirmed as they appear to be, in some particulars, by various recent occurrences of a public character, with which you cannot but be familiar, are considered as entitled, at least, to serious consideration, and to call for immediate examination and inquiry.

It is represented that the situation of Cuba is, at this moment, in the highest degree dangerous and critical, and that Great Britain has resolved upon its ruin; that Spain does not or will not see this intention; and that the authorities of the island are utterly incompetent to meet the crisis; that, although according to the treaty of 1817, the slave trade ought not to have been carried on by any subject of Spain, it has, nevertheless, been continued in vigour up to the year 1841, notwithstanding the incessant remonstrances of the British Government, which was better informed, it was said, from month to month, of everything that took place in the Island, than the Captain General himself. It is alleged that the British Ministry and Abolition Societies, finding themselves foiled or eluded by the colonial and the home Goverments, have therefore resolved, not perhaps without secretly congratulating themselves upon the obstinacy of Spain, upon accomplishing their object in a different method by the total and immediate ruin of the island. Their agents are said to be now there in great numbers, offering independence to the creoles, on condition that they will unite with the coloured people in effecting a general emancipation of the slaves, and in converting the Government into a *black military republic*, under the British protection. The British Abolitionists reckon on the naval force of their Government stationed at Jamaica and elsewhere, and are said to have offered two large steamships-of-war, and to have proposed to the Venezuelan General, Marino, who resides at Kingston, Jamaica, to take the command of an invading army. This is to be seconded, as is suggested, by an insurrection of the slaves and free men of colour, supported by the white creoles.

If this scheme should succeed, the influence of Britain in this quarter, it is remarked, will be unlimited. With 600,000 blacks in Cuba, and 800,000 in her West India Islands, she will, it is said, strike a death-blow at the existence of Slavery in the United States. Intrenched at Havana and San Antonio, ports as impregnable as the rock of Gibraltar, she will be able to close the two entrances to the Gulf of Mexico, and even to prevent the free passage of the commerce of the United States over the Bahama banks, and through the Florida channel.

The local authorities are believed not to be entirely ignorant of the perils which environ them, but are regarded as so torpid as not to be competent to understand the extent and imminency of those perils, nor the policy by which Great Britain is guided.

The wealthy planters are described as equally blind to the great danger in which they stand of losing their property. They go on, it is said, as usual, buying negroes, clamouring for the continuation of the trade, and denouncing as seditious persons, and friends of Great Britain, the few who resist the importation of slaves and encourage the immigration of free whites.

The writer points to the census of the population of the island, taken by authority, and just published, of which he incloses a copy; and from the proportion between the different colours he infers the probability that the white creoles will be able to preserve their rights in the future *Ethiopico Cuban Republic*; and as to the Spaniards, he presumes that they will leave the island at once. The writer very naturally supposes that the United States must feel a very deep solicitude upon a subject which so nearly concerns their own interests and tranquility. He seems anxious that public opinion in this country should be formed upon it and properly directed, and does not hesitate to express the opinion *that the mass of the white population of Cuba, in easy circumstances, including the Spaniards, prefer, and will always prefer, the flag of the United States to that of England.*

In thus communicating to you the substance of the statements of this writer, you will distinctly understand that your Government neither adopts nor rejects his speculations. It is with his statement of supposed facts that it concerns itself; and it is expected that you will examine and report upon them with scrupulous care, and with as much promptness as strict secresy and discretion will permit; and the whole of the statements is now imparted to you, not to limit, but to guide and direct the inquiries you are called upon to make in so delicate a matter. It is quite obvious that any attempt on the part of England to employ force in Cuba, for any purpose, would bring on a war, involving, possibly, all Europe, as well as the United States; and as she can hardly fail to see this, and probably does not desire it, there may be reason to doubt the accuracy of the information we have received, to the extent to which it proceeds. But many causes of excitement and alarm exist, and the great magnitude of the subject makes it the duty of the Government of the United States to disregard no intimations of such intended proceedings which bear the least aspect of probability.

The Spanish Government has long been in the possession of the policy and wishes of this Government in regard to Cuba, which have never changed, and has been repeatedly told that the United States never would permit the occupation of that Island by British agents or forces upon any pretext whatever; and that in the event of any attempt to wrest it from her, she might securely rely upon the whole naval and military resources of this country to aid her in preserving or recovering it.

A copy of this letter will be immediately transmitted to the American Minister at Madrid, that he may make such use of the information it contains as circumstances may appear to require.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

ROBERT C. CAMPBELL, Esq., U. S. Consul at Hav.

Mr. Webster to Mr. Irving.—[Extract.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 14, 1843.

A reply to the confidential letter from this Department of 11th January, to the Consul at Havana, a copy of which was sent to you in my dispatch No. 11, has been received. From the reply it would seem that as far as the Consul knew or could obtain intelligence upon the subject from the authorities of the island, and from other sources, the information which has been received here is, as was supposed, greatly exaggerated. Enough, however, of danger and alarm will exist in that quarter to render caution and vigilance, on the part of this Government, indispensably necessary.

Mr. Upshur to Mr. Irving.—[Extract.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, January, 9, 1844.

The delicate nature of our relations with Spain in regard to the Island of Cuba, taken in connection with the supposed designs of another power upon that territory, renders it necessary that this Government should exercise a sleepless vigilance in watching over the rights of Spain in that quarter, in a matter that so nearly concerns her own interests and security. You will, therefore, lose no time in endeavouring to ascertain the present views and feelings of the Spanish Government upon this important point, and communicate to your own all the information you can obtain in regard to it. It is necessary that Spain should be duly impressed with the importance of such a crisis as late events have led this Government to apprehend as altogether probable and near at hand, and it is still more necessary that this Government should be prepared to act with a perfect understanding of the whole subject with reference to its own safety and interests. In the event that Spain shall so far yield to the pressure upon her as to concede to Great Britain any control over Cuba, the fact will necessarily have an important influence over the policy of this Government. It is difficult to give you any positive instructions upon this subject, and you are therefore left to your own discretion as to what you shall say, and to whom. It may be advisable to confer confidentially with some of the friends of the Chevalier D'Argaiz, who are represented to have influence, and to whom, therefore, it may be politic to impart the feelings and wishes of this Government on the occasion. My only object is to obtain full and accurate information in regard to every movement which England may make with reference to Cuba, whether designed to obtain a transfer of that island to herself, or to obtain a control over the policy of Spain in regard to it, or to affect the institution of African Slavery now existing there. The modes in which you may acquire this information are submitted to your discretion.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. P. UPSHUR.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†‡† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1852

THE genesis of Idolatry is a subject which has engaged the studious care of learned men in many times. That people should select such ungainly, clumsy, frightful objects of worship, and invest them with such cruel, bloody, filthy attributes, does seem, at first, passing strange, and as if it must spring from some idiosyncrasy of barbarous nations. When at a Missionary Meeting some uncouth shape before which the islands of the sea bow down and worship is displayed by the Apostle on furlough, and the assembled multitude of Saints are told of the fierce and licentious qualities it embodies, the whole company is moved to astonishment, if not to tears, the strings of their purses are unloosed, and fresh offerings are laid on the altar for the deliverance of Heathendom from such a woe. And yet it may be that, in their own way, these very evangelizing Doctors in Divinity, and Deacons and Church-members, have just been doing what is quite as revolting in the eye of Pure Reason as this Monster-worship, and what would seem as barbarous and inexplicable to those very worshippers they are pleased to call barbarous, should the facts be laid before them. Idols are not, by any means, carved out of wood and stone only. They are, sometimes, incarnated in very substantial flesh and blood.

The Philosophy of all Idolatry is not hard to understand. Men make their gods in their own image, and then adore them for their resemblance to themselves. Their deities must necessarily bear a strong family resemblance to the worshippers, at least in mental and moral characteristics. The external form they may fashion into such shape as they think terrible or amiable; but the qualities shadowed forth are those they most prize in themselves. The Olympian Jove, the Phidian Venus, the Praxitelian Apollo, and the host of other deities of the elder world, were all but projections of the inner life of their worshippers. Odin did not drink blood out of the skulls of his enemies in the Valhalla because he liked it; but because the Scandinavians did. So with all other false gods. No Iconoclasm can put down Idolatry. It is only by the regeneration of the heart and mind that the fierce and gloomy shadows that brood over the hearts of so many nations can be put to flight. The inner necessity ceasing, the external symbol of it will disappear at the same time. The guilt of Idolatry consists not so much in the mere bowing down to stocks and stones as in the identifying with those graven images all that is worst in ourselves, and making that our god. The dishonour we do to the True God consists mainly in the deification of our own vices and bad policy, and putting them upon His throne.

So with the Idols of Christendom. That worship is governed by the same laws as any other kind of Fetichism. Only our Fetiches are usually men of like passions with ourselves, and the worship we give them is thus divested of all *prestige* of imagination or antiquity. But a man represents us and we deify him. Napoleon expressed the France of his day, and he still "rules her from his urn." Washington incarnated the Idea of Colonial Independence, and he has taken his place among the gods. Wellington gathered up the average of English feelings and ideas, and the great mass of the nation has accepted him as its Exponent. They reflect the features of the men that set them up, and they are thus bound to defend their godhead. An assault on their god is an attack upon themselves, and it is not merely piety, but self-defence, to repel it. They must prove his vices to be no vices but the best of virtues, or he goes to the wall. Even if it be merely a senseless cry of "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" that they can raise to drown inquiry into his pretensions, they must keep it up for more than the space of two hours, or their crafts may be endangered; and not only their crafts, but their own pretence at self-respect—for that grim or ugly image is but their own, a little enlarged and improved. They made him and they must stand by him or desert themselves.

This nation, very lately, set up a false god, and insists upon his divinity being recognised by all the inhabitants thereof. He had walked among us for more than forty years, but the Country did not discover that he was of celestial mould until very lately. His godlike proportions and attributes did not develop themselves and announce the present god until about two years and a half ago. Then he looked upon the American People, and, lo! they saw their strengthened image in his face. He spoke, and they cried aloud "it is the voice of a god and not of a man!"—for it was the mere echo of their own sweet voices. To be sure, with one consent they refused to invest him with any gift of power; but, then, they tried to make amends by a universal chorus of praise. Hymns and hallelujahs resounded on all sides; and if he could have been content with breath, he had enough of it and to spare. Priests as well as people joined in this liturgy, and, since his death, as well as while he lived, if the voice of flattery could soothe that "dull cold ear," he would indeed rest in peace. And this was not confined to one part of the country. The grief for his death, and the wordy acknowledgements of his living supremacy, was felt, or feigned, everywhere. Like himself, it knew "no North, no South, no East, no West!"

Now, there was a reason for this unanimity. Why did Charleston wring her hands and New Orleans rend her hair when the news of his death reached them? They did not use to love him so. Why did Richmond and Boston weep upon one another's necks? Why did Nullifiers of the South take up the wail of the Cottonocracy at the North and bear it on over the land? Whence this sudden opening of eyes which could before see no good thing coming forth from the New England Nazareth? The reason is plain enough. The South lived, and the North thrived, upon the sacrifice of every sixth man, woman and child in the land. They had agreed to do it, they liked it, they called it Liberalism, National Spirit and Enlightened Patriotism. Daniel Webster embodied this Spirit in his Speech of the Seventh of March. He incarnated the Surrender of the North to the South. There had been some false pretences of a Northern Spirit which would sometimes threaten to rouse and resist the outrages of Slavery. But Slavery had been ever predominant, nay omnipotent, in the affairs of the Nation. Men were tired of a show of virtue when they had it not; and when Mr. Webster, as their

fugleman, gave the signal, they were all ready and eager to obey it and follow him whithersoever he went. They hoped, poor fools, that he and they would receive the gift of power and place and pre-eminence, as the reward of their confession of their meanness of spirit. But the solid pudding was reserved for older and better servants. Thus she had empty praise enough. Their mouths are filled with ashes, and all they have to do is to prove that it is the fruit of Paradise. In their own defence, they are obliged to maintain his impeccable character and his infallible wisdom, or they themselves must share the disgrace of their dishonoured divinity. If he be not divine, why, what are they? If the idol be pulled down, it must fall on the heads of its worshippers. As they will not forsake it, they must uphold it.—E. Q.

SETTLEMENT OF THE 'CRESCENT CITY' DIFFICULTY.

THE latest newspapers received from Havana confirm officially, in the following correspondence, the intelligence that the explanation of Mr. Purser Smith was accepted by the Cuban Governor. This postpones, but does not remove, the danger which menaces the Island from the Law and lawless *filibusteros* of this country, as a new pretext will soon be found, or their designs be consummated without one. There are rumours of the concentration of forces at various points in the South and South West, which, if not true now, will be in due season.

The correspondence referred to is as follows:

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THE EVER-FAITHFUL ISLAND OF CUBA, &c.:

His Excellency, the Governor and Captain General, has been pleased to order that publicity be given, through the official paper, to the following communication, which he has directed to the captain of this port, and also to the document quoted in the same.

MARTIN GALIANO, Political Secretary.

Havana, Nov. 29, 1852.

His excellency, the Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Majesty, at Washington, has forwarded me a note, directed to him on the 15th instant, by the Honourable Secretary of State of the United States, accompanied by an affidavit in due form of law, to the effect that the Purser of the Crescent City, Mr. William Smith, was in every respect guiltless of the charges preferred against him, with respect to his having been the bearer of news and communications libelling the government of this island, and that he had never taken any part, direct or indirect, against the security of the same, or offensive to the authorities thereof.

This step having annulled the cause which prompted my detemination of September 4 last past, with regard to that individual, and the vessel on board of which he is employed, you will see that in future no objection be made to the entrance of the said steamer.

God preserve us many years,

VALENTINE CANEDO.

To the Captain of this Port
Havana, November 29, 1852.

DOCUMENTS CITED.
First.
A certified translation of Mr Wm. Smith's affidavit.
Second.
Legation of Spain at Washington.
Copy.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, Nov. 15, 1852.

To Mr. CALDERON DE LA BANCA, &c. &c.

Sir: I think that you have been informed already of the reason which induced this department to believe that the information received by the Captain General, Governor of Cuba, with regard to Purser Smith, of the steamer Crescent City, was erroneous. To demonstrate in a perfect, satisfactory and authentic manner, that this is the case, I take the liberty to accompany a copy of an affidavit of Mr. Smith, in which he declares in the most positive and unequivocal terms that the accusations against him are totally unfounded.

A copy of this document has been sent to Mr. Barringer, in order that the government of her Majesty may note the contents of the same. At the same time, as it is understood that the sole objection in the way of annulling the order of his Excellency the Governor, Captain General of the Island, under date of September 4, is the want of a personal declaration on the part of Mr. Smith, that he is entirely innocent of the charges against him, I am persuaded that as soon as your Excellency will communicate this document to the Captain General, it will enable him at once to re-establish communication with the Island, on the accustomed amicable footing.

I take advantage, sir, by this opportunity, to renew the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

EDWARD EVERETT.

THE CHURCH, ITS MINISTERS, AND THEIR SLAVES.

BOHN'S (London) Edition of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' gives the following statistics as to the number of Slaves held by ministers and laymen in the different denominations of the American Church. We presume it to be the latest calculation made, and, if not quite, is no doubt nearly correct:

Denominations.	Church Members.	Number of Slaves.	Number of Ministers.	Number of Slaves to each Minister.
Methodists	1,178,637	219,563	5,080	43
Presbyterians	333,548	77,000	3,268	23
Baptists	812,921	125,000	6,598	18
Episcopalians	67,500	88,000	1,404	62
Campbellites	—	101,000	—	—
Other denomin'ns	—	50,000	—	—

Total number of slaves held by ministers of the gospel and members of the different Protestant churches, 660,563.

"There is no power," said the Rev. Albert Barnes, "that could sustain Slavery an hour if it were not sustained in it." The reiteration of that sentiment, for many years, has gained for the American Anti-Slavery Society the reputation of infidelity, and of hostility to the Christian Church; the fidelity of its members to that doctrine caused the division in the Society in 1848; and ever since that fact has been used against them by their opponents—both professors and non-professors of Anti-Slavery principles—here and in England, till thousands have been persuaded that the charge of infidelity against the Society is literally true. The application of the remark of the Rev. Mr. Barnes to the above figures is the best explanation of the relation which the Society has always maintained to the Church, and the best answer that can be given to the charge which even now is made against the Abolitionists of the Old Organization.

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA.—The *Colonisation Herald* notices the charge made by Mr. John Rankin, on the authority of two ladies who has passed some time in Africa, that Domestic Slavery exists in the Republic of Liberia, and denies it altogether. To substantiate its denial it quotes from the Constitution certain prohibitory clauses, which is of precisely as much value, and no more, as if an American should cite the Preamble of the United States Constitution to prove that Slavery does not and could not exist in this Republic. That, therefore, goes for nothing.

The *Herald* does better when it brings forward the testimony of four different British Naval Officers, who had been upon the African station, and who concur in the assertion that the influence of Liberia is hostile to the Slave Trade. We may accept this evidence, as far as it goes, as unquestionably the honest opinion of the witnesses. We may also properly presume that the *Herald* has done the best it could, and procured the best evidence in its power; yet one of its witnesses, "Sir Charles Hotham, Commander-in-Chief of Her Britannic Majesty's Squadron on the Western Coast of Africa, than whom *(Herald loquitur)* no higher or better authority could be demanded," says, "on perusing the correspondence of my predecessors, I found a great difference of opinion existing as to the views and objects of the settlers, *some even accusing the governor of lending himself to the slave trade.*" Sir Charles thinks them mistaken, of course, or the *Herald* would not have quoted him; but he shows that others, whose opportunities of observation were quite as good as his own, and whose evidence, therefore, is entitled to quite as much respect, do not agree with him. The case then stands thus: the *Herald's* four witnesses think that Slavery and the slave trade do not exist in Liberia; but one of these very witnesses refers to other naval gentlemen, whose testimony is just as good, and who believe that these abominations are cherished there. If there is no other testimony, the best verdict the *Herald* could expect from a jury would be, that they could not agree.

But there is other testimony. Dr. Bacon's has never yet been disposed of; and the two ladies called on by Mr. Rankin, who, having resided in Liberia, are better witnesses than mere naval visiters, have not yet been shown unworthy of credence. The *Herald* hopes that Mr. Rankin will give the names of these ladies, and such a wish should, by all means, be granted. This assertion we do not believe was made lightly, and it is desirable, on every account, that the matter should be sifted thoroughly.

SLAVE TRADE IN CUBA.—A correspondent of the *Times*, writing from Havana, furnishes some particulars of the sailing of an American vessel from that port, for the Coast of Africa, for a cargo of slaves.

By the *Black Warrior* steamer, last trip, Don Jose Pernie left this *en route* for Baltimore, to take charge of a ship built in that city for a company of coast traders recently organized, embracing as much dignity as can well be found about the crowned Queen and *the mother*—to proceed directly from thence to the coast, to meet part of her equipments near her destination.

The Lady Suffolk, a full rigged ship of 520 tons burthen, 132 feet long on deck, with a female figure-head, having two wings on the back of the shoulders, trumpet in one hand, and a wreath in the other—black paint for the hull without ornamental colours, stripes or gilding, built and launched recently in Baltimore, by Adams, Gray & Son. This vessel left New York, the 3d of November, and arrived at Mariel on the 15th, sailed thence for Bahia Honda, on the 16th, where two schooners arrived from Havana, bringing her Slavery equipments.

Same evening, she received by the Spanish steamer Serena, from Lavana (the place where nothing can be done without the knowledge of the surveillant guardians of law, order and good manners), her "expedition" crew, consisting of seventy men, that could not leave the port without the especial license. In addition to the stores, &c., she received 16 guns of 12 lb. calibre, and one "long Tom" swivel, 150 stands of small arms, a large quantity of cutlasses and pistols, which could not be put sea-ward, on board of a coast transport steamer, without concurrence and authority.

She goes under the command of Eugenio Vinas, who is well known here, and who is especially fond of boasting of the way in which an English boat's crew and officers met their death while coming alongside to board him when bearing down for one of the coast factories, two or three years since. The American crew shipped at New York, for Havana, and to return, were detained on board of the vessel, as prisoners, after the delivery to Spanish owners, with the exception of the captain and mate, his son, until midnight of the 22d, when they were placed on board of the steamer Serena for Havana, where they arrived on the morning of the 23d, after that vessel had towed the Lady Suffolk thirty miles to sea, making her a good offing from the English cruisers, just now giving their attention to this trade in benevolence, although at the disposition of the Captain General, they are partaking of "Spanish hospitality." The Lady Suffolk was not built expressly for Zulueta, but sold to him for $28,000; and it is generally understood here, by those who know from experience of the benevolent disposition of the Queen Mother, that she is the largest stockholder of the enterprise.

"Lady Suffolk" was painted upon the stern, but will probably be scraped and painted over. She is an armed vessel at sea, without any but fraudulent or forged papers—a pirate from the moment of leaving this coast, and liable to be dealt with as a pirate, according to present national law readings and treaty. The late crew of the Lady Suffolk, who will testify when necessary, were Adam Gray, captain; Albert Gray, chief mate and son of the captain; John Perry, second mate; William Nolly, third mate; seamen, William Johnson, George Mackie, James Heathe, Charles Jackson, Frederick Rushton, Alexander Jackson, William Lyons, Charles Harrington, Michael McCoy; steward, Benjamin Welch; cook, Antonio Lopez, and Nicholas Francisco, an Italian seaman, who, of his own choice, preferred to remain on board of the pirate ship Lady Suffolk.

Captain Gray, being free, was enabled to reach Havana on the 20th, and delivered his register to the American Consul on that day. All the circumstances and particulars of the whole proceedings, while of occurrence within, almost, the reach of his forbidding voice, had he cared to use it, were communicated to the Captain General of Cuba, by the proper English officer, who never fears nor hesitates in the discharge of his whole duty.

The Lady Suffolk is to bring a return cargo of 1,200 negroes.

The facts, when made known in Havana, are said to have caused a good deal of excitement among the English residents, and Captain Gray and others were arrested on their return from the 'Lady Suffolk.' They have since, however, been liberated, and that, probably, will be the end of the matter, unless the vessel should be captured. It is notorious that the Foreign Slave Trade is, for the most part, carried on in American bottoms, but there are no laws to meet such cases as this, nor any will, in our Government, to enact them.

THE *True Wesleyan*, the newspaper organ of the sect of that name, is to be removed, on the 1st of January, to Syracuse, in this State, where it will be published, as heretofore, once a week. Rev. L. C. Matlack will continue to be its editor.

A WELSH paper, in this city, called the *Drych*, has commenced a translation of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' in its columns, in that tongue, under the title of 'Caban F' Ewythr Twm.'

Congressional.

NOTHING of importance has occurred in Congress up to the present. The Senate has been engaged mainly with the case of the contested seat of Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky; and the House with the discussion of the Tariff, arising from the motion of Mr. Brooks to refer so much of the President's Message as refers to that subject to a Special Committee. On Monday, however, an amusing debate sprung up between Messrs. Hale, Chase, Walker, and others, showing Mr. Hale quite as ready for a pleasant repartee as ever. Mr. Bright moved a suspension of rules for the purpose of electing by ballot a list of Committees, whereupon

Mr. HALE said he understood the Senator from Indiana held a list of Committees in his hand, with a view of nominating them. He would like to have it stated, for the information of the Senate and country, how and by whom that list was prepared.

Mr. BRIGHT said he had a list of Committees which he intended to submit to the Senate. The Committees would be nearly the same as those of last year. There were three vacancies caused by change of members. The members of the political party having the majority had met together and named three persons on each Committee of five, and two on each Committee of three. The list was then handed to Senator Pearce, and the Whigs named the remaining members of the Committees—in this way was the list prepared. The Senator from New Hampshire was not on any Committee, because the Democratic majority believed that Senator was outside of any healthy political organization (laughter).

Mr. HALE said he was glad to be relieved from the labours of Committees; he was proud of the cause given for his exclusion. Last year the Senate, with a due appreciation of his learning and pursuits in life, placed him on the Committee on Private Land Claims. He appealed to every member of the Committee to say whether he had not discharged the duty imposed on him. But the Senator from Indiana, with his usual frankness, had announced that the appointments on Committees were not made so much from the qualifications of members as from the fidelity with which they adhered to certain political organizations. His party, he knew, was a small one, for it had paid back to the Democratic party all the borrowed capital it had obtained in 1848, but all of the party now remaining were good men and true. There were only two parties. The Democratic had annihilated the Whig party. The Democratic party was so big that he thought the gentleman would find, even before this session was over, that it would require an outside pressure to keep it from breaking. A few days ago, its organ, *The Union*, in alluding to the Democratic party, said it was "swollen." Now, as health had been spoken of, he did not think being swollen was any indication of a healthy, vigorous growth—*ecce homo* (laughter). He thought it rather indicated a diseased state, requiring perhaps depletion or other remedy. Having now obtained the information as to the mode in which these Committees were appointed, he would make no objection to suspending the rule, but would consent that the Senate should act as it thought proper.

The rules were then suspended, and

Mr. BRIGHT offered a list of Committees, which he moved be adopted as the Committees of the Senate. The list was read.

Mr. WALKER said that he observed that his name was on three Committees, on which he had served as long as he had any desire to do. These Committees were: On Revolutionary Claims, Agriculture, and Contingent Expenses of the Senate. In addition to being the banner State of the Democracy, Wisconsin had great interests which had never been represented in any of the State Committees. The State was an agricultural State, but attended to its own agriculture. It was a commercial State and was deeply interested in the question of Public Lands and Indian Affairs, yet, with the exception of the Committee on Commerce, Wisconsin never had a Representative on any of the important Committees. He could not understand this, while Senators, who have been here but two sessions, are appointed on most important Committees.

Mr. HALE thought that there was force in the observations of the Senator from Wisconsin. There were a few Senators here who belonged to the "unhealthy" organization. Wisconsin he thought heretofore on this subject had been sickly. He remembered that on all questions there was one vote from Wisconsin to be found along with those of the most fanatical of fanatics. Perhaps this was the cause of that State being compelled to bow to the rod. He thought that like the patriarch of old, of whom it was said, Job feels the rod, yet loveth God—Wisconsin ought to submit. He had been in Wisconsin and knew the interests which the Senator spoke of. In that State there were counties in which he believed the fanatics had a majority.

Mr. WALKER said he had no such object in view. The Senator was in Wisconsin lately and had endeavoured to cure the body politic, but his medicine had not produced the effect desired. Wisconsin, he repeated, had never been represented on any of the Committees having charge of the great interests in which she was so deeply concerned. He moved that his name be stricken from the list proposing him as a Member of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, Agriculture, and Contingent Expenditure of the Senate.

Mr. CHASE said that many Senators were named on the Committees who had never been consulted on the subject. He understood that the two political parties, Whigs and Democrat, had agreed upon Committees excluding all those parties considered as belonging to unhealthy political organizations. His position was well understood by his constituents, and it was that he was, by the grace of God, a Democrat, free and independent—fully prepared and determined to carry out the Democratic faith in its fullest extent. He was not aware whether there was anything in this position to place him outside of any healthy political organization. He moved to postpone the subject till to-morrow, and, on motion, asked the Yeas and Nays.

Mr. HUNTER said the difficulty now again arose as to whether Mr. Meriwether's name should now be called. He hoped by unanimous consent that name would not be called. This was acceded to.

The motion to postpone was rejected. Yeas 6, Nays 38.

The list of Committees was then agreed to; there being six vacancies, three of which were caused by the declination of Mr Walker.

Mr. BRIGHT moved that the Chair fill these vacancies.

Mr. HALE insisted that this required unanimous consent and he objected.

The CHAIR decided that the vacancies must be filled by ballot.

Mr. BRIGHT withdrew his motion.

A message was received from the House, with the proceedings thereof, touching the deaths of Messrs. Thompson and Fowler, of Massachusetts.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts, asked if the rule of the Senate prohibited the usual proceedings in these cases?

The CHAIR decided that it did.

Mr. DAVIS said as the rules forbid the usual proceedings in cases of death of Members during the recess, the Senators from Massachusetts would forbear offering any motion.

Mr SUMNER made a few remarks.

Mr CHASE insisted that the Senate proceed to fill the vacancies in the Committees, and the Senate proceeded to ballot for the vacancies in the Committees on Agriculture, Land Claims, Revolutionary Claims, Roads and Canals and Contingent Expenses. When the ballots were counted only 20 were found to have been given, and consequently no quorum voted.

Mr. UNDERWOOD moved that the Chair fill the vacancies.

Mr. HALE objected.

The Senate then proceeded to ballot for Chairman of Committee on Revolutionary Claims, and only 30 voting, the Chair was authorized to fill the vacancies.

Several petitions were presented, among them some against the employment of Chaplains by the United States.

Mr. CHASE presented the resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio in favour of the distribution of the public lands among actual settlers.

Mr. MASON gave notice of a bill to amend the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill of last session, in the clause making appropriation for continuing the survey of the Mexican boundary.

On Mr UNDERWOOD'S motion, all unfinished business of last session was recommended to the Committees.

Mr. GWIN offered a resolution calling for all further documents concerning the imprisonment of Consul Rice at Acapulco.

On the motion of Mr. WELLER, the Select Committee of last session on the charges against the Boundary Commissioner was re-appointed.

On the motion of Mr. SOULE, the Select Committee on Claims against Mexico was renewed.

The Kentucky Contested Election case was taken up.

Mr. MANGUM withdrew his amendment.

Mr. JONES (Tenn.) moved an amendment declaring Mr. Dixon the Senator to fill the vacancy.

Mr. MASON was in favour of the reference.

Mr. UNDERWOOD addressed the Senate in favour of Mr. Dixon's claim to the seat, citing many and various precedents. He had not concluded at 3 1-2 o'clock, when the Senate adjourned.

On Teusday, the 14th, the Senate was taken up with speeches from Messrs. Cass, Seward, Stockton, Davis, Butler and others, eulogistic of Mr. Webster.

In the House, pending the debate on the Tariff, the question of Slavery came up as follows:

Mr. GIDDINGS (Ohio) remarked it had been well said in a Whig paper that protection is growing more and more dim, and the whole world is now opposed to the protection policy, and it is vain for the Whigs to struggle against the onward progress. The discussion here had become stale and unprofitable. During three days, notwithstanding the eloquent speeches, the seats had been nearly empty, showing how little interest is felt in the subject. There is but one kind of protection which the prohibitory principle has been carried out, and that is slave trading. The slave-growers of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky enjoy a perfect protection, for, by the law, it is made death to import slaves from abroad, while slaves can be transported from Maryland and Virginia further South. The labourer and manufacturer of the nation have no protection. They can, however, generally take care of themselves. His Northern Whig friends, while they say they want to protect Northern labour, countenance and maintain the sale of human flesh. But the people will pronounce them hypocrites.

This morning he read in a Whig paper that a female, a mother, when she saw her four children sold to an unfeeling dealer in human flesh, murdered them rather than see them transferred to the pen of their purchaser, and for this the laws of the State consigned her to the gallows. He asked both his Whig and Democratic friends whether they would steel their hearts to such cases of inhumanity. He repeated, that men who profess to sympathize with their fellow-men, and yet maintain commerce with human flesh, while professing to protect the labourer of the North, utter what is not true.

Mr. JOHNSON (Tenn.) inquired whether the gentleman who had said that one species of labour only was protected desired the prohibition removed for the purpose of increasing competition?

Mr. GIDDINGS—I spoke of the manufacturers of slaves and not of Slavery—it is the manufacturer of slaves alone who is sustained and honoured by the laws of the country. One great and striking policy has characterized the Administration which is now going out, and on this one policy rests the hopes of its friends for distinction in future—he meant the Compromise measures. The man whose death has this day been announced in the Senate, in March, 1850, put forth the programme which was carried through by the influence of the Executive. The Fugitive Slave Law has been in operation more than two years, and in each subsequent message, the President has congratulated the country on the protection afforded to the Southern master. What are the facts? For three months, ending the 3d of December, a larger number of fugitive slaves crossed the Northern Lakes, and found protection under the Canadian Government, than ever crossed at any former period of history, while the slave-catchers slink back into the slave States and become silent. His friend from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Jones,) while speaking yesterday, said: Pennsylvania had stood firm on the Compromise measures, but it was satisfactory to him (Giddings,) to know that Pennsylvania furnished the men and Democrats who at Christiana stood firm in the defence of the principles which every freeman holds dear to his heart. They struck down the oppressor and laid him in the dust. He thanked the Democrats for that, and thanked God and took courage.

Mr. JONES (Penn.) inquired whether he understood the gentleman to say that the Democrats sanctioned and sustained the Christiana riots?

Mr GIDDINGS replied—I never heard anything else (laughter).

Mr. JONES further asked whether the gentleman took it for granted that Democrats favour what they do not declare themselves opposed to?

Mr. GIDDINGS hoped the gentleman would not interrogate him too closely; and then proceeded to encourage the friends of freedom by showing the progress of their cause, evidence of which is seen in the election of Benton, in Missouri, and Gerrit Smith, the popularity of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the preaching of the gospel and the songs of the poets. He said that Fred Douglass's prospects were brighter now than Gerrit Smith's were four year's ago. When he comes here we will have another illustration of the Fugitive Slave Law—a fugitive from labour bringing with him his African blood.

A SOUTHERN VOICE—"Then we'll catch him" (laughter).

Mr. GIDDINGS said Mr. Douglass would ask no favours of Southern slaveholders or Northern serviles. He is competent to speak for himself, and the man who comes in contact with him will get off second best. In conclusion, he referred to the letter of Mr. Webster to our Minister in Spain regarding Cuba, written in January, 1843, commenting upon it, and saying that it associated Webster's name with infamy. He said, with the annexation of Cuba to the United States, a fire would be kindled to burn off Slavery and drive it from the continent.

Mr. STANLY (N. C.) said: There is one matter in the President's Message which I do not see adverted to in the pending resolutions of reference. An appropriation was made last session for a Lunatic Asylum, and this is of some importance to Congressmen and others (laughter).

Mr. HOUSTON replied that he had proposed no reference of that branch of the Message there being already ample provision for lunatics confined here or transported to Baltimore (renewed laughter).

The Committee rose without disposing of the question before it, and the House adjourned.

Miscellaneous News.

AN absconding slave, from Richmond, Va., was found on board the steamer Roanoke, at Norfolk, and sent back to his master.

MEXICAN protection to runaway slaves has caused some talk in Texas about the annexation of two or three border Mexican States.

THERE are now on St. Joseph's Island, says the San Antonio *Ledger*, some three hundred men. A mystery attends their movements. The truth is, they are Cuban volunteers. Another invasion is afloat.

MR. GARNET, of Troy, N. Y., has been designated as a missionary to Jamaica, from the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. He is a coloured man, and the first ever sent out by that organization.

A BILL is before the Legislature of South Carolina to exempt Robert Hopton, a free person of colour, from the annual payment of the capitation tax, in consideration of services rendered in Mexico, he being attached to the Palmetto regiment.

HIRAM BROWN, of Syracuse, has been arrested by the Marshal for helping in the rescue of Jerry. He wintered in Canada. Marshal Allen had had the warrant for a long time, but has been unable to serve it, Brown having kept out of the way. He has been bailed till January. Logan, the coloured preacher, was bailed yesterday.

THE DIFFERENCE.—*The New York Express*, speaking of the Crescent City affair, says:

"Mr. Law has frequently had his coloured cooks and waiters, who were *citizens* in New York and New England, seized and imprisoned in New Orleans, under exactly the same principle Cuba now claims the exclusion of Purser Smith, *and he has never made the least noise about it.* If the Federal Government ever objects to this principle when it is applied in foreign States, it must begin with some practical objection to it at home, by a quarrel with the States of Louisiana and South Carolina."

PRIVATE letters, per Cherokee, to *The Tribune*, from Havana state that Capt. Gray and his men have been released, to the great excitement of the British residents at that city. Seven or eight slavers are daily expected there, and all the British vessels of war are cruising off the coast to intercept them. This accounts for the unusual number of these ships in those waters.

ANOTHER FUGITIVE SLAVE IN ROCHESTER.—A coloured woman, calling herself Grace Howard, and representing herself as a slave who had escaped from Alabama and as on her way to join her husband, already in Canada, was taken up intoxicated in the streets of this city yesterday, and put into the lock-up, when it was discovered that she had letters from several Abolitionists, and among others one from Lucretia Mott, at Philadelphia, directed to Gerrit Smith, commending the fugitive to his aid and protection. No one appearing to claim her, after a reprimand for being found in such a degraded condition, she was set at liberty, and, we presume, is ere this on her way to Canada.—*Rochester Advertiser*, Dec. 9.

A LATE number of *The New Orleans Picayune* contains the following advertisement:

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the plantation of the undersigned, the negro man Shedrick, a preacher, 5 feet 9 inches high, about 40 years old, but looking not over 23, stamped M. B. on the breast, and having both small toes cut off. He is of a very dark complexion, with eyes small but bright, and a look quite insolent. He dresses well, and was arrested as a runaway at Donaldsonville some three years ago. The above reward will be paid for his arrest by addressing Messrs Armant, Brothers, St. James Parish, or A. Miltenberger & Co., 30 Carondelet-st.

TRACTS.—*Five Hundred Tracts for One Dollar.*—The Executive Committee of the New York State Temperance Society have just stereotyped a number of tracts adapted to the times, and solicit orders for the same. *Five Hundred Tracts* (four pages each) will be sent by mail to any portion of the United States, this side of the Rocky Mountains, *postage paid*, for ONE DOLLAR!! Larger Tracts in the same proportion. Orders solicited. Let every Temperance Society, Clergyman, and Sabbath School in the Union, send for a package of Tracts. Address Wm. H. Burleigh, Corresponding Secretary, No. 8 Exchange Building, Albany.

Editors throughout the United States are respectfully requested to copy this announcement, for the benefit of the friends of Temperance.

LONG JOHN WENTWORTH, claims for himself that he introduced Thanksgiving into Illinois! He says in his *Democrat*:

We feel proud that our Governors have adopted the custom of appointing Thanksgiving days, as this paper took the lead in the matter, and published for Gov. Duncan a proclamation without even first consulting him. The first the Governor knew of it, he heard it read from the pulpit. All our Chicago clergymen noticed it, and the day was kept in the customary manner wherever the Proclamation was known. The sermons were as able, the dinners were as good, and the balls and evening parties as agreeable as if the Proclamation had been a genuine one.

He adds: Subsequent Governors have saved us the trouble of writing any more Proclamations.

WASHINGTON IRVING CREATING A RIOT IN BOMBAY.—The Boston *Journal* extracts from a Bombay paper the particulars of an extensive and alarming riot, which took place there in November, last year. The riot was caused by the publication, in a Bombay newspaper, of an editorial translation of portions of the life of Mohammed by our distinguished countryman, Washington Irving. The most aggravating feature, however, in the provocation given to the Mussulmans, was a defective likeness of their prophet. The Bombay papaper, from which the extract is made, calls the print a "smeared and smudgy lithograph of Mahomed," taken from Simon Ockby's history of the Saracens.

The riot lasted for three days, when the Mohammedans were at last conciliated by the editors apologizing for the translation and picture.

WE are not [says *The Tribune*] responsible for the publication of the following It is uttered in a spirit of sobriety by a leading "Democratic" journal:

"The election of Hon. Charles G. Atherton to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature of New Hampshire, is an event that must prove gratifying to every friend of the incoming administration. Possessing commanding abilities, an enlarged patriotism, and high and ennobling characteristics, he will afford a support to the government of General Pierce which but few others in the honourable body to which he is chosen can equal. With such friends around him, the new President cannot fail to have the brilliant and prosperous administration which his triumphant election foretells."

IN the river bank at Zanesville, Ohio, a "Fossil Elephant" has been discovered, the third of the same species, *The Courier* says, that has been discovered in the same gravel bank within a few years past. *The Courier* adds: "The one found yesterday was in much the best condition, and may, when completely exhumed, show almost the entire bones and frame of the huge monster, much beyond, perhaps double, the size of the living Asiatic or African elephant. The molar teeth, four in number, all that the species possess, were found in the jaws sound and unbroken, and two weigh twenty pounds each, and two fourteen pounds each. The tusks were not in as good condition, only one being good enough to bear moving. This one, eight feet in length, measures at its base 26½ inches in circumference, and at the point eight feet distant, where it is broken off, 16½ inches in circumference, the whole length of which was probably 12 feet more. We learn that it was intended to postpone the exhumation of the other portion of the remains for a day or two, in anticipation of the arrival of our old townsman, John W. Foster, Esq., U. S. Geologist, from Lake Superior.

A LETTER from Cape Haytien, dated Nov. 19, says that the French Naval forces have taken possession of Samana, in St. Domingo, commanding the Mona Passage, between Hayti and Porto Rico, and design to hold it as a naval station, unless the United States should object. The first part of this report appears to us quite probable. Samana is a considerable island at the north of the Bay of Samana, one of the safest harbours in the world. The nation that holds it has control over a most important channel leading into the Caribbean Sea. Indeed, it has been said that this point, in the hands of a sufficient power, would become the key of the whole West Indies. The Dominican Republic, in whose territory it lies, have vainly offered to pledge it as security for a loan they have for months past been trying to coax out of English capitalists. Moreover we know that Major Reybaud, the French Consul General to Hayti and that Republic, has long been intriguing with its rulers, and he is much more dexterous than our old friends Duff and Ben. E. Green with their plans of colonization and flibustiering. It was Major Reybaud who chiefly managed the famous tripartite intervention to prevent Solouque from keeping up the war, and under his conduct the American Government was made to pull the nuts from the fire, which, if this report be true, France is now eating with most laudable coolness. What is unlikely in the story is that she should make this important place dependent on the approval of the United States. If she has once fairly got it from Dominica, depend on it she will never ask whether Brother Jonathan likes or dislikes the bargain.—*Tribune.*

CHINESE IN CUBA.—Extract from a Private Letter from Cuba to the *Post*

"The wild, uncivilized look of the negroes here, strikes one very forcibly. Constantly one sees teeth filed like those of a saw, which gives a most shark-like look to a large mouth, and nearly every darkey one meets has the long cicatrices on his cheeks or forehead, that in Africa mark the tribe or the people to which he belongs. I do not know if these foreigners have increased much in number lately, although we hear from all sides that large cargoes of them have been landed. Indeed, the excess of males on the plantations and the cruelly hard work, keep the slaves from increasing except by importation. The English will have great difficulty in preventing it. Bold and skilful slavers can easily run their vessels into friendly ports. I had strong hopes and I still have, that the Chinese emigration may act as a check upon this infernal business. There have been two thousand Celestials in the island for some years. They were imported at an expense of $125 a head, and receive $5 a month for the eight or ten years during which they are bound to their employers.

"Thus far, they have given great satisfaction by their industry and intelligence, so much so, that a planter who has worked a number of them, said he should pay them $8 a month when their time was up, rather than lose them. Eight thousand more have been subscribed for, and six thousand are said to be on their way hither. Perhaps Providence may make use of the surplus population to drive out the curse of Slavery from among us. Who knows where the Chinamen will appear next, now that the whole world is becoming as one country?"

FACTS FOR THE NEXT EDITION OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.—There died lately, in a lower county of Virginia, a mulatto man who was manumitted by his master, and was under our law permitted to remain in Virginia. His master had with his liberty left him a respectable property, and this man by industry accumulated an estate of $25,000. He had purchased his wife, who was a slave; and his children were therefore his own property, as well as his wife.

Falling into bad health, he went to Philadelphia sometime during this last summer for medical advice, but learning from the best physicians that his health was worse than he thought, and that he could not live, he wrote to a relative of his old master to come on for him, which this gentleman did, and stayed with him, and brought him back to Virginia at his request. He died shortly after his return, not long since; and by his last will left *all his estate to this gentleman, as well as his wife and children*, who are thus the slaves of his friend—trusting, of course, that he would care for them and provide for them.

Here was an intelligent, wealthy man, who knew the condition of coloured people in the Northern States, that preferred to leave his wife and children and all his property to a white man, to sending them out of the State, to live as free persons with a fine estate.

These are notorious and recorded facts, and can be proved if denied; and there are many such occurrences among our coloured people which might be made public, to put to shame the exaggerated fictions of Mrs. Stowe and her adherents, if there was any possibility for substituting in the Northern mind fact for fiction—reason for imagination—and charity in the place of sectional prejudice.—*Martinsburg (Va.) Gazette.*

We have not always found Southern facts genuine, but a part of this statement is so consistent with Southern habits and ideas of law, that we must accept at least that portion as true. The man left his wife and children to the gentleman by his last will. We think this deserves a place in the next edition of the book, for the editions now out have nothing quite equal to it. It would seem as if Slavery could make black fathers as unnatural as white ones.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

A GEORGIA correspondent of the *Janus*, a German paper in New York, says that he was at Cedartown lately, when a negress was hung, and thus relates the case: The master of the negress told her that he had sold her four children to a man to whom they were to be delivered next day. The purchaser was known through the neighbourhood as a tyrant and miser, who not only half-starved his slaves, but beat them brutally at every opportunity. The mother, who tenderly loved her children, was overcome with grief at the thought of having them sold to such a monster. She begged her master on her knees to keep the children, or if they must be sold, to let them go to a more humane master. But all her efforts proving vain, and being driven to desperation, she on the following night murdered the children. This was the crime for which she was hung.

HAYTI.—We are requested by Capt. R. C. Dennis, who has recently returned from Port-au-Prince, to state, for the information of those who have lost friends there the present season, that in no foreign port do foreigners receive more kindness and attention in sickness, from the natives, than at Port-au-Prince. He says it is a fact beyond dispute, that the natives of Hayti are kind, affable, and polite; that no people are more hospitable, even towards Americans, from whom they have not in too many instances received kind treatment. Their mode of living is also much more refined than is generally supposed. Capt. D. says that four families out of ten at Port-au-Prince have their pianos in their parlour, dress in as good style and stand as well in point of morality and virtue as many people in this country who despise them. Soulouque, the Emperor, he says, is a fine looking man, the sight of whom would at once disprove the foolish stories so often circulated in the papers in relation to him. He is strictly temperate, not even indulging in the use of wine. Capt. Dennis also pays Mr. G. F. Usher, the American Consul, a high compliment for the faithful and attentive manner in which he discharges the duties of his office.—*Boston Journal, Dec.* 4.

ENTHUSIASM RUNNING HIGH.—Mr. Brady, the orator at the New York Webster funeral celebration, asserted in his speech that "in no country or era has an intellect quite equal to that of Webster appeared on earth." We suppose that the shades of Pericles, Aristotle, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Shakespeare and Bacon nodded a good-natured assent.—Goldsmith said, "Nature seems to have forgotten how three thousand years ago she formed the brain of a Confucius." If Goldsmith were living now, he would, perhaps, conclude that nature had recovered her lost art.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

THE EARTHQUAKE.—The Newburyport *Herald*, of the 29th ult., thus describes the shock of an earthquake which was felt in that place on the night of the 27th ult: "A very heavy explosion startled our citizens at twenty-five minutes before twelve o'clock on Saturday night. It came from a northerly direction, and was probably from the Exeter Powder Mills, though no former explosion of these mills ever produced here half so severe a concussion, or anything like the long and loud report and reverberation. After the shock, a roar, like a foul chimney burning, was distinctly perceptible in-doors, for two minutes. The night was still and clear, with a light air from N. W.; ground wet and soft. If this was not the effect of a great explosion, it must have been one of those earthquakes, and the most severe of them all, which, at irregular intervals, from time immemorial, have visited the valley of the Merrimack."

RUNAWAY SLAVES.—The slaves in Kentucky are daily escaping to Ohio, and by the underground railroad, to Canada. So serious is becoming the evil, that the slaveholders have formed a Society for their assistance and protection. The following are the main features of the plan: "To have a Pursuing Committee, to act on the instruction of the President; to have a census of all the slaves owned by the members; to have a permanent fund to pay expenses of pursuit; to pay a stipulated reward to those who capture; to allow pursuit of no slave, by their Committee, not owned by a member; to pay $200 to a citizen of any free State who captures a fugitive, if over sixteen years of age: if under, $100; or for information productive of a capture, $50." These, with the recommendation of the special patrol law, on the border counties, constitute their plan of action.—*Ohio State Journal.*

CHARITY AT HOME.—The Ladies of the Home Missionary Society made a Festival of Thanksgiving Day to the poor people about the Five Points, in this city. The Old Brewery was filled, says a reporter, with a joyous crowd of poor children, who were made to forget their poverty and wretchedness in the midst of the abundance of good things which had been provided for them by these benevolent ladies, and one thousand garments, consisting of shoes, pants, jackets and shirts, for boys, and entire dresses for girls, were distributed among them, after which they sat down to an excellent dinner. But as this building was not sufficiently large to accommodate all, a number of tables were laid in the big temperance tent, which was ornamented with evergreens. Over five hundred children were entertained by the ladies, who waited upon them at the table, and attended to all their wants.

THE WOMEN *vs.* GROG-SHOPS.—PETITION—*To The Legislature of the State of New York:* The undersigned, women of the Town of ——— and County of ———, being deeply impressed with a sense of the great wrongs inflicted upon humanity by the sale of intoxicating drinks—feeling that our rights are trampled upon, our friends corrupted and destroyed, our homes desolated, ourselves and our children beggared, our dearest hopes crushed, and our brightest anticipations blasted by the great destroyer, Alcohol—most earnestly appeal to your Honourable Body for relief and protection. We pray you to pass a law that shall prohibit, under suitable and sufficient penalties, the sale or gift of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage, and that shall authorize and require the proper officers of the law to seize and destroy all intoxicating liquors kept to be sold, or given away, in violation of law.

PETITIONS.

TO THE WOMEN OF THE STATE.

The Committee appointed to draft a form of Petition to our State Legislature, to be used by the Women of the State, present the above as expressive of Woman's peculiar needs and desires.

In presenting this petition to their sisters who are labouring for the salvation of the race from drunkenness, the Committee would earnestly urge upon all the necessity of early and persevering effort, in order to secure as large a number of signatures as possible to the petitions. Although we have hithsrto met with disappointment and defeat, we yet have cause to feel encourrged, by the success which has crowned the efforts of our brethren in other States, and by the improved public sentiment which prevails throughout our land in regard to the vice of Intemperance.

Woman has not yet done her whole duty in this matter. Her influence and power have not been fully exerted, nor exerted aright. She has a great responsiblity resting upon her—a great work to do. She may not sit idle while an enemy is stalking through the land, blighting and destroying everything in his path. She may not fold her hands while her husband is in danger of being slain by this fearful foe. She may not keep silent when this monster threatens to enter her home circle and drag from thence the children of her love, to corrupt and destroy them body and soul, forever. She cannot hold her peace and be justified, when they who are chosen to protect her rights prove unfaithful to their duty, and instead of guarding her home and property, turn loose upon society a set of knaves and robbers, to strip her of all, and reduce her to beggary and starvation. Had Woman fully understood her rights and duties—had she felt the weight of responsibility resting on her, and faithfully discharged her obligations to society and to herself—the monster vice of Drunkenness, and its kindred evils, would long since have ceased to curse the race. It now becomes her to arouse to a full sense of this great evil, and of the extent of her own responsibility and power, and by her untiring and determined efforts in future, accomplish what she has failed to do in days that are past.

We earnestly call upon the Women of our State to rise in their strength, and by one united cry demand of our Legislature the prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. True, our petitions have been slighted hitherto; but this, instead of discouraging, should nerve us to more determined action; and this should be continued till our prayers are listened to, and granted. If our Legislators will not grant us protection on account of our necessities, they may at last be moved to do so because of our importunity.

Then be active in circulating petitions. Swell the number of names so that they may far exceed those presented last winter.

A meeting of Temperance Women of the State will be held at Albany sometime in January—of which due notice will be given. It is desirable that all petitions signed by women be ready early in January, and that they either be sent by delegates to that meeting, or addressed, post-paid, to Amelia Bloomer, Seneca Falls, who will see that they are forwarded to Albany, at the proper time.

It is also desired that the petitions of women be kept separate from those of men.

To work then, sisters! Appoint committees who will traverse your villages and towns, and see that every woman has the opportunity of appending her name to the petitions for the MAINE LAW.

In behalf of the Committee
AMELIA BLOOMER, Ch'n

☞ Petitions in suitable form for attaching at the head of lists of names may be had, free of charge, by addressing, post-paid, Amelia Bloomer, Seneca Falls, N. Y. It is hoped they will be widely called for by societies and individuals, as it is important that the petitions of women be the same as far as possible.

THE GRASSHOPPER ON FANEUIL HALL.—The complaint of a correspondent of the *Transcript*, says the Boston *Advertiser* of December 3, in regard to the removal of the grasshopper from the top of Faneuil Hall, has called forth a reply in which it is stated that the grasshopper was removed from its position by the Superintendent of Public Buildings for the purpose of being repaired, and that it will soon be restored. In the body of the grasshopper was found a paper on which its early history was written. The writing on the paper was nearly obliterated, but by the assistance of Dr. Shurtleff, it has been so far restored as to be nearly legible. The writing on the the paper, as far as it can be ascertained, is as follows:

SHEM DROWNE MADE IT
May 25, 1742

To My Brethren and
Fellow Grasshoppers
Fell in ye year 1755 Nov. 18th day from ye Market
by a great Earthquake......sing......sett a......
by my old Master above
Again Like to have Met with my Utter Ruin by Fire, but hopping Timely from my Publick Scituation, come off with Broken bones, and much Bruised. Cured and again fixed
Old Master's Son. Thomas Drowne June 28th 1763
And Although I now promise to Play
Discharge my Office, yet I shall vary as ye Wind.

EXPORT OF ACORNS.—Seventy-three bushels of acorns have been shipped to Belgium, from Bradford, Penn., with a view of introducing the oak into those countries.

DR. JAMES WALKER has been elected President of Harvard College, in place of Mr. Sparks, whose resignation will take effect in January.

Receipts for the Standard.

From Nov. 1st to Dec 1st, 1852.

666	George Doughty, Brushville, N. Y.	$5 00
660	James N. Buffum, Lynn, Mass.	18 00
652	L. L. Fuller, Tolland, Ct.	6 50
650	L. Munger, Penn Yan, N. Y.	0 33
648	S. C. Webster, Pittstown, N. Y	1 00
648	John Young, Milton, "	8 00
649	Wm. Cummings, Boonville, Ohio,	1 00
700	Ladies A. S. Society, Cincinnati, Ohio	10 00
682	P. Pixley, Unionville, O.	2 00
656	John T. Andrews, West Cornwall, Ct.	1 00
650	E. Ingersoll, Pulaski, N. Y.	2 27
650	D. H. Abbott, Hingham, Mass.	3 00
676	Zera Masters, Amber, N. Y.	1 00
676	Chester Moses, Marcellus, N. Y.	1 00
676	Benj. Clark, " "	1 00
676	Caleb Cowles, " "	1 00
702	E. H. Magill, Providence, R. I.	2 00
648	D. A. Doolittle, Oswego, N. Y.	3 00
676	Wm. J. Machan, Marcellus, N. Y.	1 00
676	Wm. Lonely, " "	1 00
676	S. Dalliby, " "	1 00
676	E. Talbott, " "	1 00
676	C. L. Bennett, " "	1 00
676	E. W. Frost, " "	1 00
676	B. N. Parsons, " "	1 00
676	Sarah Montgomery, " "	1 00
676	Amory Wilson, " "	1 00
676	Louisa Ledington, Marcellus Falls, N. Y.	1 00
676	Suman Baker, Amber, N. Y.	1 00
650	T. Fenner. Cold Brook, "	2 50
595	E. J. Doty, Macedon, "	1 00
676	T. Pomeroy, Otisco "	1 00
702	T. Lomis, West Groton "	1 50
694	N. Page, Davenport, Mass.	50
676	Nicholas Hallock, Milton, N. Y.	2 00
677	Eliza A. Thaxter, Hingham, Mass,	2 00
694	Mary T. Tidmarsh, " "	2 00
694	Rhoda Beal, " "	2 00
685	Lydia Andrews, " "	2 00
668	C. H. Norton, Burlington Flats, N. Y.	1 00
651	S. S. Westcott, " " "	37
650	P. Burlingam, Franklinville, "	2 00
694	Renj. White, Pennville, Ind. "	2 00
639	Wm. Wright, Elmira, N. Y.	1 00
651	E. Beardsley, Havanna, N. Y.	50
651	T. J. Taylor, " "	50
694	Elizabeth Cushing, Hingham, Mass.	2 00
676	Wm. Jay, N. Y. City,	2 00
656	Wm. E. Bradley, Baltimore, Md.	2 00
650	O. R. Potter, N. Y. City,	1 00
		109 97

COLLECTIONS BY J. H. AND MARY A. PHILLEO.

Erastus Berry, Nunda, Livingston Co. N. Y.	1 00
Griffith M. Cooper, Williamson, Wayne, Co.	1 00
Peter Allen, " " "	1 00
Richard Britain " " "	1 00
L. A. Pierce, Watertown, Jefferson "	1 00
Dr. Noteman, " " "	1 00
Dr. Rogers, " " "	1 00
Mr. Russel, " " "	1 00
N. Farnham, " " "	1 00
Mary Strickland, Sterlingville, Jefferson "	50
Dr. A. Murdock, Philadelphia, " "	1 00
Asa D. Bright, Deer River, Lewis "	2 00
Mrs. Sedate Bright, " " "	50
Jane Pinney. Lyndon "	50
Caroline Putnam, Farmersville, Cattaraugus Co.	50
New Ashford, Cattaraugus Co.	38
Ashford Hollow, " "	25
East Randolph " "	1 25
Farmersville, " "	88
Williamson, Wayne "	2 17
Watertown, Jefferson, "	29
Sterlingville, " "	1 30
Philadelphia, " "	1 50
Rutland Centre, " "	3 00
Copenhagen, Lewis "	6 17
Denmark " "	3 09
Harrisburgh " "	2 00
Deer River, " "	2 90
At Phillipsville, (by G. B. Stebbins)	4 50
	43 68

DONATIONS.

Ladies A. S. Society, Cincinnati, O.	100 00
J. H. Burr, Ludlowville, N. Y.	50
	100 50

RECAPITULATION.

Seceipts,	109 97
Collections,	43 68
Donations,	100 50
Total,	$254 15

Western Anti-Slavery Fair—1852.

THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR will be held in Salem, commencing December 31st and continuing two days. The object of the Fair is to aid in the restoration of freedom to the enslaved, and in securing and perpetuating the blessings of the free, by publishing and enforcing the principles of justice and freedom upon the Government and people.

Past experience here and elsewhere has demonstrated the utility of Fairs, as a source of Anti-Slavery revenue. We therefore hope that the friends of Anti-Slavery principles and measures will be liberal in their contributions and prompt in forwarding them. The more varied and extensive the assortment of articles, the better. The ornamental and the useful, will be alike available. The merchant can contribute from his store, the mechanic and manufacturer from his shop, the housekeeper from her varied and indispensable department and the products of the Dairy and Farm will be especially acceptable. Let none be backward because their contribution must necessarily be small. Remember the importance of our object—the measures indispensable to success—and that money is necessary to procure them. Though Slavery is for the present triumphant, let us not be discouraged or weary of right doing nor tamely submit; but continue faithfully to remonstrate, discountenance and resist.

Donations may be forwarded to J. McMillan, Sam'l Brooke and Tomlinson & Brothers.

SARAH BOWN,	LAURA BARNABY,
HANNAH J. TOMLINSON,	SARAH N. MCMILLAN,
MARGARET HISE,	ELIZABETH P. VICKERS
JANE M. TRESCOTT,	HARRIET WHINERY,
SARAH A. HANNA,	ANNA WILSON,
ANGELINA B. DEMING,	HANNAH M. STRAWN,
SARAH SHARP,	RACAEL TRESCOTT,
SARAH SMITH,	EMILY ROBINSON,

SARAH DAVIS.

Worcester Co. North A. S. Society.

A QUARTERLY meeting of the Worcester Co. (North Division) A. S. Society will be held at Westminster Town Hall, the 22d and 23d of Dec., commencing on the 22d, at 6 o'clock, P. M.

Daniel Foster, Wm. B. Stone, and other speakers, will be present. Citizens, without distinction, are invited to attend; and it is hoped that the friends of freedom in the neighbouring towns will make a special effort to be present.

J. T. EVERETT, *President.*

A. A. BENT, *Secretary.*

Worcester County [South] Anti-Slavery Society.

THE Annual Meeting, for the choice of officers and other business, of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Horticultural Hall, Worcester, commencing on Saturday evening, Dec. 18, at 7 o'clock, and continuing on Sunday afternoon and evening, Dec. 19.

Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone Stephen S. Foster, and Abby Kelly Foster, well-known and able speakers, will be present.

All persons are inaited to attend.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, *President.*

E. LOVELAND, *Secretary.*

Old Colony A. S. Society.

FOREFATHERS' DAY!

THE approaching anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrim Forefathers will be duly observed by the above Society, on Wednesday, December 22d, 1852, in the Green Church, at Plymouth. Further particulars hereafter.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*

H. H. BRIGHAM, *Secretary.*

MIDWIFERY AND THE DISEASES OF WOMEN.—A new Descriptive and Practical Work. Illustrated with numerous cases of Full Hydropathic Treatment, by Joel Shew, M. D., author of various works on Hydropathy. Price, prepaid by mail, only $1 25. Published by FOWLERS & WELLS, Clinton Hall, No. 131 Nassau st., N. Y.

"This is a comprehensive, practical work, and is 'emphatically' the "Woman's Own Book." If it were in the hands of every young lady in the country, and its instrnctions carefully attended to, it would be the means of saving a vast amount of trouble, anxiety, and pain—aye, even of life, not only of mothers, but of infants—while it would improve the health of the next generation at least a hundred per cent. This work is just what every married lady has lately felt the need of, and we recommend all husbands to purchase a copy of it for their wives, at the earliest possible moment. Every humane husband will do so."

Miscellaneous Department.

THE LAST OF THE TROUBADOURS.

In reading of the recent excursions which our aspiring neighbour, the President of the French republic, has been making throughout France, our eye is caught by the word "Agen," the name of one of the towns at which he halted. In that place, situated on the Garonne, about a day's voyage south of Bordeaux, there lives a man commonly called the Last of the Troubadours—a peasant-poet, writing for Languedoc and Provence—a man who sings and speaks and writes in the provincial language or *patois* of the surrounding district, but in such a way as has made him enthusiastically welcomed all over the south of France. The name of the man is Jacques Jasmin. He is a hair-dresser, keeping a little shop in Agen. He is about fifty-one years of age, strong, vivacious, frank, full of passionate energy, entertaining the utmost confidence in his own powers, but using them with the greatest good sense relatively both to their management and to the objects and manner of their employment. While we know that he is really popular to an extent of which we in cold England can hardly form a conception; that his songs and poems are in the mouths of the countrymen who labour in the fields or sit by their firesides; that when he recites before assemblies of perhaps 2,000 people, the ladies tear the flowers and feathers out of their bonnets to weave them into garlands for him; we know, likewise—and this is the most remarkable thing of all—that he has a rule of diligent labour, of revisal and correction, which he follows as conscientiously af if his taste and principle had been fashioned in a classical school. Two volumes of his poems have been translated into modern French, and are printed side by side with the originals; and to these a third has recently been added, which contains several things particularly worthy of note.

Through the kindness of a friend, some of his more recent pieces have reached us, and it is clear that he continues to improve. He is every way, in so far as we can understand him, a very singular specimen of the poet of the people. An inability to enter into other nationalities than our own, may prevent our rating him quite so high as our countrymen say he deserves; but we cordially do see that his plan of operation is a rare, a striking, and a most effective one. He stands in the exceedingly odd position of a troubadour and a classic combined, Though professing to disdain extempore effusions. he is both quick and clever at them; but for nothing in the world will he forego the delight of doing all the justice to his favourite subjects that the most elaborate and careful treatment can enable him to render. His are no "touch-and-go" compositions. He tells the story of the people in fictions so exquisitely true, so replete with beauty, yet so familiar and peasant-like, that we can recall nothing similar to these compositions in the whole round of popular poetry. Crabbe may be as genuine and hearty—and there are among his poems some of which Jasmin often reminds us—but Crabbe was the priest of the parish and painted from an eminence; while Jasmin stands in the crowd below, and sketches the groups among which he mingles.

Jasmin knows nothing of ancient rules, yet he is as severe as any master of antiquity in self-judgment. Still more strange is it, that this Poet of the Peasants has never disdained his original profession, but continues as usual to lather and shave the chins of his countrymen, and to dress the ladies' hair. More strange yet, he refuses all pay for his recitations. The single announcement of his name is enough to draw immense audiences, and his appearance excites an enthusiasm, compared with which that of a London crowd for Jenny Lind is described as cold and faint. When he is on one of his missions, undertaken for religious or charitable purposes, he does not refuse to scatter impromptus in return for hospitality and compliments; but not for the best of objects will he permanently degrade his art. He will give out to the public at large only what he has carefully designed and matured. A sketch of one of his poems, entiled *Crazy Martha*, may give some idea of the subjects in which he most delights, and his manner of treating them.

Martha was a poor girl, well known in the town of Agen as living thirty years on public charity: one whom, as Jasmin says, we little rogues teased whenever she went out to get her small empty basket filled. For thirty years, we saw that poor idiot woman holding out her hand for our alms. When she went by, we used to say: "Martha must be hungry, she is going out!" We knew nothing about her, yet everybody loved her. But the children, who have no mercy, and laugh at everything sad, used to call out: "Martha! a soldier!" and then Martha, who dreaded soldiers, used to run away. So much for fact; but now comes the question: "*Why* did she run away?" Jasmin, he says, sat himself down to answer this question, at some thoughtful moment when the image of the poor maiden, graceful even in rags, presented itself to him; and after having diligently sought out her previous history through a number of channels, the result was the following relation:

It was a beautiful day, and the clear pure waters of the river Lot were murmuring on their banks, when a young girl walked by its side with a disturbed and anxious look. In the next town the young men of the village were engaged in ballotting for the conscription. The young girl had a lover there; her fate was entwined with his; and her whole aspect showed how deep and heartfelt was her anxiety. In her heart she prayed, but she could not keep still. This maiden was Martha. Another girl, too, was there; she also had trouble in her eye, but not profound like Martha's. This was Annette, a neighbour's daughter. The two girls talked together of their doubts and fears, but each in her own way. At length, Annette took alarm at her friend's intensity of anxiety. She endeavoured to soothe her: "Take courage; it is noon, we shall soon know; but you are trembling like a reed. Your look frightens me. If James should be chosen, would it kill you?" "I don't know, indeed," replied Martha. Forthwith, Annette begins to remonstrate: "Surely you would not be so foolish as to die of love—*men* never do—why should women? If my young man, Joseph, were to be drawn, I should be very sorry; but I should never think of such a thing as dying for him."

So the loving and the light young maidens go on discoursing. The drum is heard at a distance; it draws nearer; it announces the return of those who have been fortunate enough to escape. Now, which of those two girls will have the happiness of beholding her beloved? Not Martha, alas! The thoughtless, gay, joyous Annette is to be the favoured one, for Joseph is there among the youths who have drawn the fortunate number. As for James, he is drawn, and he must go. A fortnight aftewards, Annette, who would have been so easily comforted, is married; and James takes his sorrowing farewell of poor Martha. If war spares him, he promises to return with a whole heart to her. So ends the first part or canto of the piece.

The second begins: The month of May returns again; and it is painted as only the southern poets can paint it—how often in the troubadour songs do such pictures as these return?—

May, sweet May, again is come,
May, that fills the land with bloom;
On the laughing hedgerows' side
She hath spread her treasures wide.
She is in the greenwood shade,
Where the nightingale hath made
Every branch and every tree
Ring with her sweet melody.
Sing ye, join the chorus gay,
Hail this merry, merry May!
Up, then, children! let us go
Where the blooming roses grow;
In a joyful company
We the bursting flowers will see, &c.

But in the midst of all this happiness, poor Martha sings her sad song alone: "The swallows are come back; my own two birds are come to their own old nest. No one has separated them as we have been parted. How bright and pretty they are! and round their necks they wear the little bit of ribbon which James tied upon them when they pecked the golden grains out of our clasped hands."

Poor Martha! she sings and complains, sick at heart and ill in body; for a slow fever has come upon her, and she seems to be dying. Just at that juncture, a kind old friend, guessing the cause of her decline, does a beneficent act with a view to her restoration. He sells a vine, gives her the money, and with this commencement of a fund, Martha labours incessantly, hoping to get the means of buying her lover's freedom. Her kind friend dies: this is discouraging; but still she proceeds. She sells the dwelling he had bequeathed to her, and runs with the money to the priest of the village.

"Monsieur le Curé," she says, "I have brought you the whole sum. *Now* you can write; buy his liberty, I beseech you; only do not tell him *who* has obtained it. Oh, I know full well that he will guess who it is; but still do not name me, nor feel any fear about me, for I can work on till he comes. Quickly, good, dear sir—quickly bring him back." Thus the second part closes.

The third begins: Now comes the difficulty of a search for the missing lover; for in the time of the Emperor's great wars, it was no easy matter to follow out the career of a conscript. The kind priest was skilful enough in his own field; he could hunt out a sinner in his sin, and bring him back to the fold, but to find a nameless soldier in the midst of an army—one who had not been heard of for three years—was another thing. However, no pains were spared. Time went on, and still Martha worked to replace part of what she had expended, and to have something more to bestow. The news of her persevering love was spread abroad, and everybody loved and sympathized with her. Garlands were hung on the door and little presents against her bridal were prepared by the maidens. Above all, Annette was kind and eager. Thus every one considers her as bethrothed, and the marriage only waiting for the bridegroom. At length, one Sunday morning after mass, the good priest produced a letter; it was from James. It told that he had received the gift of freedom; that he was coming the next Sunday. Not a word was said of his real deliverer. Having been left in the village a foundling, his notion was that his mother had at length made herself known, and done this kind action. He exulted in the thought.

The week passes away, and after mass the whole population of the village awaits his coming, the good priest at their hand, and Martha, poor Martha, by his side. The view which our poet gives of the scene—of the village road—of the expecting parties, is in the highest degree beautiful and artistic. All on a sudden, at the distant turn in the road, two figures are seen approaching—two soldiers; the tall one there can be no doubt about; it is James, and how well he looks! He is grown, he is more manly, more formed by far than when he went away; but the other, who can it be? It is more like a woman than a man, though in soldier's clothes; and a foreigner too—how beautiful and graceful she is; yes, it is a *cantinere*. A woman with James! Who can it be? Martha's eyes rest on her—sadly, and with a death-like fixedness; and even the priest and the people are dumb. Just at that moment, James sees his old love. Trembling and confused, he stops. The priest can no longer be silent. "James, who is that woman?" and trembling like a culprit, he answers: "My wife, monsieur—I am married." A wild cry issues from the crowd—it is Martha's; but she neither weeps nor sighs; it is a burst of frantic laughter—thenceforth her reason is gone for ever.

This is the touching story which Jasmin has elaborated from the idea of poor crazy Martha. We have sketched it as a fair specimen of his manner of dealing with a suggestive fact; but in truth one grand charm can in no way be made known to the English reader. Reading his poems through the medium of a French translation, printed side by side with the original, we cannot but see how condensed and expressive is the Provencal. It has been well defined as "an ancient language, which has met with ill fortune." During the twelfth century—from 1150 to 1220—it had reached a high degree of perfection, having been the first of those to which the Latin gave birth after the inroads of barbarism. You find in it a mixture of Spanish, Italian and Latin. The first-formed modern tongue was violently arrested in its progress at the commencement of the thirteenth century in the wars of the Albigenses. There was no political centre, however, in the land of its birth, and it fell into disuse, and became merely a patois. Jasmin has imposed on himself the singular task of using this language, not exactly as now spoken in any one place, but as it was written in its purer times; and wherever he goes, he is understood, even by the Catalonians. Sometimes he brings up an ancient word, and sometimes coins one of immediate affinity to the old, but always with discretion and good sense. An amusing anecdote of him has been recorded lately. During one of his poetical wanderings in the south, it seems he was challenged by an enthusiastic patois rhymer to a round of three subjects in twenty-four hours; both poets to be under lock and key for that space. This is the answer of our troubadour:

"Sir—I received only yesterday, on the eve of my departure, your poetic challenge; but I must say, that had it come to me at ever so opportune a moment, I should not have accepted it. What, sir! you propose to my Muse, who delights in air and liberty, the confinement of a close room, guarded by sentinels, where she is to treat of three given subjects in twenty-four hours! Three subjects in the space of twenty-four hours! You terrify me! Allow me to inform you, in all humility, that the muse you are for placing in so dangerous a predicament, is too old to yield more than two or three verses a day. My five principal poems (they are here named) cost me twelve years' labour, and they do not amount in all to 2,408 couplets. The chances, you see, are not equal. Your Muse will have performed her triple task before mine, poor thing, has found herself ready to begin.

"I dare not, then, enter the lists with you; the steed which drags my car painfully along, and yet comes at last to its journey's end, is no match for a railway carriage. The art which produces verses, one by one, cannot enter into combination with mechanism. My Muse, therefore, declares herself conquered beforehand, and I fully authorize you to register the fact.

"I have the honour to be, sir, yours,

"Jaques Jasmin.

"P. S.—Now that you know the *Muse*, please to know the *Man*. I love glory; but never did the success of others disturb my repose."

It should be added, that Jasmin is always to be found among those who contend against the extreme centralization of France. His whole character and turn of thought is provincial. "The country was my cradle; in the country shall be my grave." His influence is always moral, calming and healthful. The poet is no revolutionist; he seeks only for the triumphs of self-conquest and virtue. It may be said, that he is too full of the cultivation of his art to be a politician; but he appears to us to be truly patriotic, and to put aside the temporary polemics of the day, with a dignity which is very far from indifference.—*Chambers' Edinburg Journal.*

The London papers are making merry over a detected plagiarism of D'Israeli's, in his speech in the House of Commons, on the death of the Duke of Wellington, from the eulogy of Thiers' on Marshall Gravier de St. Cyr, delivered several years since.

"Mr. Disraeli on the Duke of Wellington, in 1852.

"It is not that a great general must be an engineer—a geographer—learned in human nature—adroit in the management of men—that he must be able to fulfil the highest duty of Minister of State and then to descend to the humblest office of a commissary and a clerk; but he has to display all this knowledge and to exercise all those duties at the same time, and under extraordinary circumstances. At every moment he has to think of the eve and of the morrow—of his flank and of his rear—he has to calculate at the same time the state of the weather and the moral qualities of men; and all those elements that are perpetually changing he has to combine sometimes under overwhelming heat, and sometimes under overpowering cold—oftentimes in famine, and frequently amidst the roar of artillery (hear, hear). Behind all these circumstances there is ever present the image of his country, and the dreadful alternative whether that country is to welcome him with laurel or with cypress (hear, hear). Yet those images he must dismiss from his mind, for the general must not only think, but think with the rapidity of lightning; for on a moment more or less depends the fate of the most beautiful combination—and a moment more or less is a question of glory or of shame (hear, hear). Unquestionably, sir, all this may be done in an ordinary manner, by an ordinary man, as every day of our lives we see that ordinary men may be successful Ministers of State, successful authors, and successful speakers—but to do all this with genius is sublime (hear, hear). To be able to think with vigour, with depth, and with clearness in the recesses of the Cabinet, is a great intellectual demonstration; but to think with equal vigour, clearness and depth amidst the noise of bullets, appears to me the loftiest exercise and the most complete triumph of human faculties (cheers).

"M. Thiers on Marshal St. Cyr, 1829.

An engineer, a geographer, a man of the world, a metaphysician, knowing men, knowing how to govern them, an administrator in great things, a clerk in small—all these things it is necessary to be, but these are as yet nothing. All this vast knowledge must be exercised on the instant, in the midst of extraordinary circumstances. At every moment you must think of the yesterday and the morrow; of your flank and of your rear. Calculate at the same time on the atmosphere and on the temper of your men; and all these elements, so various and so diverse, which are ceaselessly changing and renewed, you must combine in the midst of cold, heat, hunger, and bullets.

* * Further off, and behind them is the spectacle of your country, with laurel or with cypress. But all these images and ideas must be banished and set aside, for you must think, and think quickly—one minute too much, and the fairest combination has lost its opportunity, and instead of glory, it is shame which awaits you. All this doubtless is compatible with mediocrity, like every other profession; one can also be a middling poet, a middling orator, a middling author; but this done with genius is sublime. * *

* * To think in the quiet of one's cabinet clearly, strongly, nobly, this undoubtedly is great; but to think as clearly, as strongly, as nobly, in the midst of carnage and fire, is the most perfect exercise of the human faculties.

Censure.—All censure of another is *oblique praise of self*. It is done in order to show how much one can spare. It has all the invidiousness of self-praise, and all the reproach of falsehood.

WILBERFORCE'S GREAT SPEECH ON POTATOES.

The following amusing sketch of a joke of a Parliamentary reporter, is taken from the Great Metropolis:

About five-and-thirty years ago, when only one sentence of a speech was given on an average, every five or six minutes, and when the reporters had to sit for many hours at a time, they were often at a loss what to do with themselves. On one occasion, when labouring under an attack of ennui, and also under the effects, Jack Finnarty, a well known reporter of that period, yawned out, "Mr. Speaker, will you favour us with a song?" A roar of laughter followed from all parts of the house. One of the officers immediately repaired to the gallery, and inquired who the offender was; Jack Finnarty, without opening his mouth, pointed to a Quaker, of very diminutive stature, who was sitting in the front seat. The officers immediately seized the unoffending little man by the breast of his collarless coat, and without condescending to give a why and wherefore, dragged him down stairs, and transferred him to the care of the Sergeant-at-Arms. The latter, after keeping him in safe custody during the night, and compelling him to pay nearly $30 for his lodgings, set him at liberty on the following day.

About the same time the debate, which was about English labourers, being one evening unusually dull, Jack Finnarty, who had but a short time before been imported from Tipperary, said to the only other reporter in the gallery at the time, that he felt very drowsy, and that he would be after taking a little bit of a nap, if he would tell him when he awoke any thing which might take place. The other agreed, and Jack, in a moment, was fast locked in the arms of Morpheus. An hour elapsed, and after half-a-dozen yawns Jack opened his eyes.

"Has anything happened?" was the first question to his friend.

"To be sure there has," said the other, whose name was Morgan O'Sullivan.

"Has there, by the powers?" exclaimed Jack, pricking up his ears in the plenitude of his anxiety to hear what it was.

"Yes, Jack, and very important, too."

"Then, why don't you be after telling it to me at once? what was it about?"

"About the virtue of the Irish potato, Jack."

"Was it the Irish potato you said, Morgan?"

"The Irish potato; and a most eloquent speech it was."

"Thunder and lightning, then, and why don't you tell it me?"

"I'll read it from my note book, Jack, and you'll take it down as I go on," said Morgan.

"Och, its myself, sure, that's ready at any time to write what any member says about our praities; are you ready to begin?"

"Quite ready," answered Morgan.

"Now then," said Jack, with an energy that strangely contrasted with the previous languor of his manner. "Now, Morgan, my boy." Morgan, affecting to read from his note book, commenced thus: "The honourable member said, that if—"

"Och, be asy a little bit," interrupted Jack, "who was the honourable member?"

Morgan besitated for a moment, "Was it his name you asked? Sure, it was Mr. Wilberforce."

"Mr. Wilberforce? och, very well, then."

Morgan resumed. "Mr. Wilberforce, said, that it always appeared to him beyond all question, that the great cause why the Irish labourers were, as a body, so much stronger and capable of enduring so much greater physical fatigue than the English, was the surpassing virtues of their potato. And he——"

"Morgan, my dear fellow!" shouted Jack, at the mention of the Irish potato, his countenance lighting up with ecstacy as he spoke, "Morgan, my dear fellow, this is so important, that we must give it in the first person."

"Do you think so?" said Morgan.

"Troth and I do," answered Jack.

"Very well," said the other.

Morgan then resumed—"And I have no doubt," continued Mr. Wilberforce, "that had it been my lot to be born and reared in——"

"Did the member say reared?" interrupted Jack, exultingly, evidently associating the word with the growth of potatoes in his "own blessed country."

"He said reared," observed the other, who then resumed, "——had it been my lot to be born and raised in Ireland, where my food would have principally consisted of the potato—that most nutritious and salubrious root—instead of being the poor, infirm, shrivelled and stunted* creature you, sir, and honourable gentleman, now behold me, I would have been a tall, athletic man, and able to carry an enormous weight."

Here Jack Finnarty observed, looking his friend Morgan eagerly in the face—"Faith, Morgan, and that's what I call true eloquence. Go on."

"I hold that root to be invaluable; and the man who first cultivated it in Ireland, I regard as a benefactor of the first magnitude to his species. And my decided opinion is, that never, until we grow potatoes in England in sufficient quantities to feed all our labourers, will those labourers be as able-bodied a class as the Irish?" (Hear! hear! from both sides of the House.)

"Well, by St. Patrick, but that bates everything," observed Jack, on finishing his notes, "that's rale philosophy! and the other members cried, 'Hear, hear!' did they?"

"The other members cried, 'Hear! hear!'" answered Morgan.

In a quarter of an hour afterwards, the House arose. Morgan went away direct to the office of the paper for which he was employed; while Jack, in perfect ecstacies at the eulogium which had been pronounced on the virtues of the potato of "old Ireland," ran in breathless haste to a public house, where the reporters, who should have been on duty for the other morning papers, were assembled.† He read over his notes to them, which they copied verbatim, and not being at the time in the best possible condition for judging of the probability of Mr. Wilberforce delivering such a speech, they repaired to their respective offices, and actually gave a copy of it into the hands of the printer. Next morning it appeared in all the papers, except the one with which Morgan O'Sullivan was connected. The sensation of surprise it created in town exceeded every thing. Had it only appeared in one or two of the papers, persons of ordinary intelligence must at once have concluded that there was some mistake about the matter; but its appearing in all of the journals except one, and that one so very obscure, that scarcely anybody knew whether the speech was it or not, forced, as it were, people to the conclusion that it must have been actually spoken. The inference was plain. Everybody, while regretting that the necessity should exist, saw that no other course was left but to put Mr. Wilberforce at once into a straight-jacket, and provide him with a keeper. In the evening, the House met as usual, and Mr. Wilberforce, on the Speaker taking the chair, rose, and begged the indulgence of the House for one moment, to a matter which concerned it, as well as himself, personally. "Every honourable member," he observed, "has doubtless read the speech which I am represented as having made on the previous night. With the permission of the House I will read it." (Here the honourable member read the speech, amidst the deafening roars of laughter.)

"I can assure the honourble members that no one could read this speech with more surprise than I myself did this morning, when I found the paper on my breakfast table. For myself, personally, I care but little about it—though if I were capable of uttering such nonsense as is here put into my mouth, it is high time that, instead of being a member of this House, I were an inmate of some lunatic assylum. It is for the dignity of this House that I feel concerned; for, if honourable members were capable of listening to such nonsense, supposing me capable of giving expression to it, it were much more appropriate to call this a theatre for the performance of farces, than a place for the legislative deliberations of the representatives of the nation."

It was proposed by some members to call the printers of the different papers in which the speech appeared to the bar of the House, for a breach of privilege, but the matter was eventually allowed to drop.

To show the mistakes which such jokes are apt to cause, the *Missouri Republican* lately published this identical speech as coming from Mr. Wilberforce, upon a bill for the amelioration of the labouring classes of Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Wilberforce is made to say:

"Physically, he himself presented but a very unprepossessing specimen of humanity; but, had it not been for the Irish potato, it would have been immensely worse with him. Had it not been for that invaluable esculent, upon which he was mainly raised in body and mind, he never would have been incompatable with what he was, inconsiderable as he might be in both; and to the great use of that vegetable he attributed the superior brightness, shrewedness, wit and sagacity of the Irish over the English, who lived mostly on roast beef and pudding."

*Mr. Wilberforce,s personal appearance was precisely what it is here described to have been.

†At this time it was no uncommon thing for all the reporters, except one, to absent themselves from the gallery for hours at a time—that one engaging to tell them all that had happened on his return.

THE SWEEDISH ST. BARTHOLOMEW, 1851.

Finally, however, the counsel of Didrik Slaghec, called after this, by a slight change of pronunciation, Slag-hok (Slaughter-hawk), prevailed. He was the king's confessor, a Westphalian by birth, and had been once what our ancestors would have called a barber's clerk, but what we should call a surgeon's assistant; and if we imagine a rank between the two, and an occupation uniting both mysteries, we shall have a tolerable idea of what had been his social position. He is said to have been related to the mother of Diverke, the king's deceased mistress, Sigbrit, to whom many of Christian's evil deeds were attributed, and who had known how to preserve, by her own talent, the influence first acquired by the grace and beauty of her daughter. Slaghec suggested that the king wielded two swords, the temporal and the spiritual; the first in his own right, the other on behalf of the pope. The king might forgive offences against himself, but not those against the holy see. His promise of oblivion for the past, therefore, was to be kept as far as he was personally concerned, but in his capacity of representative of the church was not binding. Let him then bring the excommunication into play, and deal with all who had taken part against Archbishop Trollé, as heretics. On the Wednesday after the coronation the archbishop, by previous concert with the king came forward in the hall of Stockholm Castle, where the guest were assembled, and, advancing to the throne, demanded that Stekeborg should be rebuilt, and the authors of his own and the ex-archbishop's misfortunes punished. The accusation being pointed against Sten Sture and his adherents, in justification of her husband, Christina Gyllenstjerna, produced the deed which solemnly deposed the archbishop and decreed the destruction of Stekeborg. The king received it gladly, and at once resolved to treat all who had signed it as heretics. They were asked separately whether they acknowledged their signatures, and, when they could not deny them, they were all taken into custody, with the exception of Otto, Bishop of Vesteros, who had joined the archbishop as accuser, and John Barsk, Bishop of Linkoping, who, having desired that his seal might be broken, and the words "I have been necessitated and compelled" having been found under it, was left at liberty. The prisoners were committed for the night to the tower, chapel, and other parts of the castle. In the meantime it was referred to a tribunal consisting of the archbishop, the Bishop of Odensee, the Bishop of Linkoping, and other ecclesiastics—among whom Lars Anderson, or Laurentius Andreæ, as he is often called, and Peter Galle, will appear again in this history—to consider what was the crime involved in the things complained of, when they declared that the perpetrators "after the just law of holy church, the emperor, and Sweeden were manifest heretics." It is said that the public executioners conveyed to the victims their death's doom. When they asked for the last consolations of religion the boon was denied. On the morning of the execution, the 8th of November, the inhabitants of Stockholm were forbidden, on pain of death, to leave their houses before a signal to be given by sound of trumpet. The cannon on the castle were loaded, and others so placed as to command the principal streets. A heavy gloom and dark foreboding oppressed the minds of all the people. When the clock struck twelve, the trumpet sounded, and they were summoned to the great square or market place of the city. The castle gates were soon after opened, the drawbridge lowered, and the unhappy prisoners brought forth. These were Mathias, Bishop of Strenguess, Vincentius Bishop of Skara, twelve secular nobles, most of them members of the State council, including Eric Abrahamson (Lejohnufvud), Eric Johanson, the father, and Joachim Brahé, the brother-in-law of Gustavus, the burgomaster and town council of Stockholm, and many burgesses. A Danish knight, Nicholas Lycké, addressed the people, telling them not to be terrified at what they would witness, that the archbishop had three times on bended knee besought the king that sentence of death might be executed on the culprits, and that he had at length yielded to his request; but Bishop Vincentius interrupted him, by exclaiming that not a word of truth had been uttered, that the king could do nothing without lies and deceit, and that he prayed God for vengeance on his tyranny. Christian, who beheld all this from a window of the old souncil house, now gave a sign that the sentence should be carried into execution. Bishop Mathias was the first victim. He had taken with him to the coronation his chancellor, Olaus Petri, and Laurentius Petri, his brother, who, as he stood with his hands raised up to heaven awaiting the blow of the executioner, rushed forward to embrace him; but before they could reach the spot his head rolled upon the ground. Horrified at the sight, they said this was inhuman work upon a noble and venerable man, when they were seized themselves and would have been sacrificed, had not a German who had studied with them at Wittemburg declared that they were not Swedes. Bishop Vincentius was next beheaded, then the lay nobles, then the burgesses. Olaus Magnus, trembling all the while for his own life, saw ninety-four persons beheaded. Others were hanged or subjected to painful and horrible deaths. According to the account of Ziegler, a contemporary historian, one Johannes Magnus was crucified, with circumstances of the most revolting cruelty; but the story is too disgusting to be related, if not too horrible to be believed. The slaughter continued through the second and third days, because the general proclamation of peace and security continually enticed out fresh victims. Some were put to death because they could not refrain from tears at the sight of friends and neighbours so ruthlessly destroyed. Some—these chiefly the servants and retainers of the great nobles—were dragged from their horses as they rode into the town, and hanged in such numbers that girths and stirrup leathers must supply the lack of halters. The gutters ran red with blood, and the miserable survivors stepped over them with superstitious care, lest a stain upon their dress should seem to mark them out as the next sacrifice. For three days the bodies remained upon the market place. They were then carried out and burnt in the south suburb, on the site of the present Church of St. Catharine. It was the proper funeral of heretics, and that Sten Sture might share it, his dead body, and that of his infant child, were torn from the grave, and cast upon the burning pile. While the massacre was still proceeding, Christian sent out a proclamation to the provinces, stating that by the advice of the bishops, prelates, and other wise men, he had punished Sten Sture's chief confederates, as heretics under the ban of the church, but thenceforward meant to govern the country mildly and peaceably, after the law of St. Eric. The massacre extended even to Finland, where the gray hairs, advanced years, and recent services of Hemming Gadd were all ineffectual to save him—for the king was in the high character of the avenger of religion, and must not indulge his own feelings and private preferences. Vengeance must descend with stern impartiality upon friend and foe alike! Among the victims were two children of the noble family of Ribbing; and the king's last exploit in Sweden, his "valete" to the people, as Laurentius Pétri calls it, was the drowning of the abbot and some monks of the monastry of Nydala."—*The History of Gustavus Vasa.*

WOMAN'S RIGHTS AND WRONGS.

Mrs. Nichols, editor of the *Windham County Democrat*, recently appeared before the Legislature of Vermont and made a speech, setting forth the Political Rights and Wrongs of Woman, as she understands them, and suggests Legislative remedies. She proposes the following synopsis of her positions:

WOMAN'S PROPERTY RIGHTS.

Existing property laws, as they affect the interests and happiness of married women, are a just cause of complaint among themselves, and equally opposed to the true interests of all who have claims on them for support or training.

They are open to criticism. 1st. Because they divest women of just rights in property. 2d. Because they have so guarded released property rights, that they are not available for such application and use as the interest and happiness of the holders demand.

The holding of property is ranked by our republican governments among inalienable rights, and the reason for so ranking it, is to be found in the necessities and responsibilities of the human being, which absorb the entire means created by average energies —in their proper and honourable discharge.

In the marriage relation, as proved by actual life, the responsibilities of the parties are equal, though dissimilar; and if the father prove recreant or incompetent, the support and training of the children naturally devolve upon the mother; thus establishing beyond question, her equal right to hold and control means.

Not only does justice demand that this right be conceded to her, but the best interests of society require it. For by releasing to the responsible mother means for the support and proper education of her children, the community will most effectually protect itself against the pauperism which taxes its purse and the crime which jeopards safety, through the husbands and fathers who use their property rights to feed their brutal appetites, sending their families to the poor-houses and prisons.

The legislation of the past declares that strong man needs not only his own property and earnings, but that of his wife and minor children also, to meet the physical and educational demand of the family; it is left for the legislation of a better age—God grant it be the present—to declare with an equal responsibility, physically weaker woman should have control of her *own* property and earnings.

The legislators of the past, acting upon the supposition that all husbands have the will and the wit to support their wives and children, gave to all husbands the entire property and earnings. The legislators of the present day will prove their common sense and humanity by abandoning this "legal fiction," and acting upon the reality that many men have proved themselves unable or unwilling, with all these aids, to support their families in comfort; while women, not a few, have supported their children and trained them for useful life with only her own earnings; that many a man, in spite of the legal injection into his veins of his wife's means of subsistence, has proved dead to all the claims of family, while many a wife, though "dead to law," has managed under the paralyzing conditions of her legal category, to be a fountain of life to her children, and through them to the community.

The necessities and responsibilities of men and single women, are the basis on which republican Governments have secured to them independent rights. It is not pretended that marriage deprives woman of her necessities, they are inherent in her nature—but it trebles her responsibilities and proportionally increases her necessity for property and all its advantages.

The laws should protect to married women their property. They have equally with men inherited personal necessities, and should not be forced by laws alienating their property rights, to choose between starvation and the poor-house.

Laws protecting property to the married woman will tend to ameliorate her condition as a widow. The laws of the State secure to its widows the use of only one-third of the real estate, even though it be a trifle too small to save helpless age from charity or the poor house. The husband can will away from his wife all the personal property, and in small estates it takes it all to pay the expense of the settlement. Property held in her own right may save the widow from the poor house.

Another benefit which will result from securing to married women their property, real, personal and mixed, and its use—is the equalisation of property: it will be more equally and justly distributed in the settlement of the estates, the children of the mother heiring from her what herself heirs from her parents, or had acquired by her own labour. And again, it would benefit the husband by benefitting the family. Fathers would aid their daughters, as they do their sons, when circumstances invite such aid, if those daughters could legally hold the capital so invested and its use, against the debts and heirs of the husband.

The law we now have, securing only real estate to the wife, prevents her from availing herself of its full benefit. She cannot farm it, for she cannot own stock and materials necessary; she cannot invest its proceeds or change it to capital in more lucrative business—or business more suited to her capacity and needs.

Again, while a few women inherit real estate, a great majority of women who marry have personal property, heired or acquired by their labour. Laws securing to them real, personal and mixed property, therefore, under conditions which allow them its full and free use, will be a general benefit, whereas the securing to them real estate only is partial in its benefits, as in its application.

It is both just and desirable that, with the security which property gives, women should have its responsibilities and liabilities. In order to the full enjoyment and wise use of property, women must be left, like men, free to husband or squander their property interests, and abide poverty or prosperity as their own foresight or management shall determine. Ability to make means to answer the ends desired, is needed in the business concerns on which themselves and families depend for support, and only the practical knowledge which is allowed or forced upon them by its responsibilities, can develop this ability.

A fear that woman's property, if released to their control, will be forced or coaxed from them by others, is certainly no reason why our legislators should be guilty of giving it to others, as they do give it to the heirs of the husband, or to any foreigner, if he choose so to make his will—against the just claims of his wife and heirs.

C. I. H. Nichols.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

——Quakerism Favourable to Longevity.—According to the late census returns, the average age attained by members of this peaceful sect in Great Britain is fifty-one years, two months, and twenty-one days. Half of the population of the country die before reaching the age of twenty-one, and the average duration of life the world over is but thirty-three years; Quakers, therefore, live a third longer than the rest of us. Quakers are temperate and prudent, are seldom in a hurry, and never in a passion. The journey of life to them is a walk of peaceful meditation. They neither suffer nor enjoy intensely, but preserve a composed demeanour always.

——Liquor Law in Sweden.—In Sweden, whoever is found drunk is fined, for the first offence, three dollars; for the second, six; for the third or fourth, imprisonment is added to the fine, and deprived the right of voting at the elections, or holding office, and exposed in the church on Sunday. If the same individual is found committing the same offence a fifth time, he is imprisoned six months and condemned to hard labour. If a professor of religion, it is still more severe, and they are cut off from the church. Whoever is convicted of having induced another to intoxication, is fined three dollars, which sum is doubled for every offence. An ecclesiastic who falls under the offence, loses his benefice. It is strictly forbidden to give or sell spirituous liquors to students, servants, or apprentices. Whoever is found drunk in the street, or making disturbance in a public house, is imprisoned and fined—one half of the fine goes to the informer, and the other half to the poor. Twice in a year, those ordinances are read aloud in the church, by the clergy, and every tavern-keeper is bound to have a copy hung up in the principal room of his house, under heavy fines. Under those regulations, scarcely a drunkard is found.—*Shurbert's Travels.*

——A Visit to O'Connell's Estate.—Miss Martineau, in an account of a visit she lately paid to the tomb of the celebrated Daniel O'Connell, says:

"The most implacable enemy of O'Connell could not but be touched and softened by a visit to Derrynane Abbey at this day. There can hardly be a more affecting spectacle than that house where so much of the politics of our country has been conceived and discussed. The situation of that old seat of the O'Connells is finer than description can give an idea of. Seen from above, in its green cove, embosomed in woods, guarded by mountains, whose grey rocks are gaudy with gorse and heather, and facing a sea sprinkled with inlets, it looks like a paradisical retreat. The first glimpse of the Cahirciveen road—the road by which O'Connell passed from one mass of his large fortune to another—shows his yacht riding in a sound in front of his grounds; and that sea view suggests the remembrance of the old days when the O'Connells of both families, Dan's uncle and father, were understood to do as others did who lived in situations so favourable for those commercial enterprises which are conducted by night. In the wild times of the last century, when defiance of law was rather a virtue than otherwise, and communication with France was an Irish privilege, gentlemen who had houses among the bays and sounds of the west coast, were under every inducement to make their fortunes by smuggling. The wild ruin of the houses where Daniel was born, stands in an admirable situation for smuggling; and so does the Abbey; and legend runs that the ability was abundantly used.

Smuggling is quite over now, as the coast guards tell with a sigh. And agitation is over too. So the one house stands a ruin, and the other is rotting away in damp and neglect. It is inhabited; it is even filled with company at times; it is to be so to-morrow. But not the less forlorn is its appearance when seen from a nearer point than the mountain roads, choked by its own woods, which grow almost up to the windows, stained with damp, out of joint, unrepaired, unrenowned—it is truly a melancholy spectacle. Melancholy to all eyes, it is most so to the minds of those who can go back a quarter of a century and hear again the shouts which hailed the advent of the Liberator, and see again the reverent enthusiasm which watched him from afar when he rested at Derrynane from his toils, and went forth to hunt among his hills, or cruise about his bays. Now, there is his empty yacht in the sound, and his chair in the chapel covered with black cloth. All else that he enjoyed there in his vast wealth of money, fame and popular love seems to be dropping away to destruction. When we were there, the bay whose full waters must give life and music to the whole scene, was a forlorn stretch of impassible sand—neither land nor water. The tide was out. It was too like the destiny of him whom it neighboured so nearly. His glory swelled high; and grand at one time was its dash and roar; but the tide is out. And it can never return—could never have returned, if he had lived; for there is going on, we trust, a gradual upheaving of the land, giving some promise of that reclamation which he never would allow.

——Life in Cities.—But it is not to be denied that the evils are enormous. If towns give us the highest view of man's range of moral attainment, so do they open up the deepest abysses of human degradation. There is no reason to suppose that the intensity of moral evil in cities is less than it ever was, although the limits and influence of practical Christianity may be continually widening. Evil can and does acquire concentrated strength, as well as good. In modern times there have been very great external changes; the work of the scavenger, the painter, and the policeman, by which evil has been not so much removed as placed out of sight. We have not only whitened the sepulchri, but encrusted it with marble, and not a few ostentatious inscriptions; but it still contains the rottenness and the dead men's bones. Two sets of circumstances produce the evils of towns, those which may be called moral and those which are physical. Crowding develops not only the intellect but the passions, so as to render vice, where it exists, early, contagious, and malignant, and therefore to demand moral correctives of proportionate force. But into this all important subject the purpose in hand does not lead us. It requires only a reference to certain physical causes, which are continually operating upon the health, and through the health upon the morals, of all who live in towns. The majority of those persons who subsist, whether as artizans or as labourers, by the receipt of wages, are in many respects more favourably placed for the highest ends of life than that uneasy, struggling, shopkeeping class which seems so much above them. They are free to live far less in show and more in reality. They are in constant contact with those rough stubborn facts of nature which under their hands are continually becoming smooth, and orderly, and beautiful. The work which they produce, or the services which they render, may be for a class too languidly luxurious to appreciate their worth; but the honest toil is not the less moral and bracing. The poor weaver, in the midst of his privations, sees the rich velvet spread out beneath his hands, not without a feeling of pride. The mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, must have similar thoughts when on the one leisure evening they stroll through those long lines of sumptuous palaces which are the creations of their industry. These and all other obscure workers, whose lives are not spent in the receipt and computation of money, but in tough, obstinate conflict with difficulties, can never be forsaken by that sense of dignity and self-respect which are part of natures wages for all real toil. The existence of such men in all cases might, and in some cases does, exemplify that ideal of "plain living and high thinking" which the poet could only see in the past. We have it amongst us, though the cases are few; science and poetry and thought making noble and beautiful this common working life.—*Lalor's Money and Morals.*

——The Income and Household of Burns.—The stated official income of Burns was £50 a year, which usually became £70, in consequence of extra allowances for certain departments of business. It has been surmised that he had to keep a horse out of this little income; but in reality, when a horse was required during the Dumfries period of his life, he was accustomed to hire one from an inn, and its expense was charged to the service. There seems to have been other sources of official income, of a more precarious nature; on the back of a song in his handwriting, he has noted what follows: "I owe Mr. Findlater £6. 8s. 5 1-2d. My share of last year's fine is £12. 2s. 1d. W. M. £14. 3s. 6d." If this was anything like the average of some other perquisite, it would make up Burns' official revenues to something above £80 a year. It may also be remarked, that his son, Mr. Robert Burns, believes that the poet occasionally derived a little income from land surveying—a business for which his Kirkoswald education had laid the foundation of his qualifications. Add to all this the solid perquisites which he derived from seizures of contraband spirits, tea, and other articles, which it was then the custom to divide among the officers, and we shall see that Burns could scarcely be considered as enjoying less than £90 a year. This, indeed, is but a humble income in comparison with the deserts of the bard; yet it is equally certain that many worthy families in the middle ranks of life in Scottish country towns were then supported in a decent manner upon no larger means; and very few men of the poet's original profession, out of East Lothian and Berwickshire, drew larger incomes from their farms. It is therefore not surprising to learn that Burns, though now and then forced to be beholden to a friend for a small temporary loan—we have seen an example of this when a failure of importation closed one of his sources of extraordinary income—did, nevertheless, in general maintain his household in some reasonable degree of comfort. I have consulted the eldest son of the bard on this subject, and find his views of the paternal *ménage* at Dumfries very much the same as those with which many little circumstances have impressed myself. Mr. R. B. speaks of the house in the Mill Vennel as being one of a good order, such as were used in those days by the better class of citizens, and the life of his father and mother as being comparatively genteel life. They always had a maid servant, and sat in the parlour. That room, and the two principal bedrooms, were carpeted, and otherwise well furnished. The poet possessed a mahogany dining-table, where he often had good company assembled. In the same room stood his folding-down desk, at which he had to do a considerable amount of business in granting of licenses, permits, &c., and where his son remembers seeing him writing his letters to Mr. Thomson, always a business requiring a good deal of care. There was much rough comfort found in the house not to have been found in those of ordinary citizens; for, besides the spoils of smugglers, as above mentioned, the poet received many presents of game and country produce from the rural gentlefolks, besides occasional barrels of oysters from Hill Cunningham, and other friends in town, so that possibly he was as much envied by some of his neighbours as he has since been pitied by the general body of his countrymen.—*From the concluding volume of the Chambers' Life and Writings of Burns.*

——Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton.—Bulwer Lytton's great effort is to unite in himself the gentleman of fashion and high breeding, with the author of first-rate literary reputation; and, like most other extravagant attempts, it would appear ridiculous, were his literary triumphs less complete. Upon the wit, poet, writer of plays and novels, and orator, he would inoculate the owner of Knebworth Park, dispensing county hospitalities, and the man of fashion in London, receiving only wits at his table. He has striven through life to effect this combination, and in a great measure he has succeeded. The sumptuous fellow-commoner of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, contrived to make driving his own horses, and similar eccentricities, compatible with winning the University prize for the best English poem. The gentry of Herefordshire were not long ago invited to our Mæcenas's country seat, and the entertainment included a theatrical representation of his own play, just as it was also acted by his amateur literary friends before the Queen, at Devonshire House.

Feeling a sincere sympathy for the trials of artistic life, he would express it like a feudal chieftain, and so he appropriates from his domain a site for an hospital for decayed men of letters and art. When he has a few friends to dine with him in London, the party might consist of Talfourd, Macready, Dickens, D'Orsay (but that he is dead) and perhaps a young American author, who had been introduced, and is there upon trial. As he is essentially refined and fastidious, you will probably find that he has furnished the rooms of his house in accordance with the tastes of the Tudor, the Louis Quatorze, and other historical eras; and, being fully indulgent to his imagination in the effort of composition, he has been said to write in appropriate costume, and even through the fumes of opiate. In the country houses of his acquaintance you may possibly be shown some sacred apartment, in which the confession of "Aubrey," in "Devereux," was written at midnight, in a cowl, with a skull on the table; or the black-bugled bed-curtains, within the author of "Richelieu" rested his inspired brow. In estimating both the intellectual character and writings of Bulwer Lytton, it is impossible to avoid a comparison betwixt him and Byron.

Even the circumstances of their private lives are strikingly similar. Their aristocratic lineage; their great dependence in early years upon a mother; their unfortunate matrimonial connection; their attachment to a daughter in both cases, though from different causes, frustrated; their personal vanity, warm temper, and egotism; even their nonentity in Parliament; also sundry high and generous qualities and feelings, which have undoubtedly distinguished them both. And these peculiarities of life and disposition have tinctured the prose of the one and the poetry of the other. Each has shown a morbid desire to put on a dress, and be the hero of poem or tale. "Childe Harold," "The Corsair," &c., were vehicles for the personal confessions of their author; "Pelham," "The Student," &c., are self-likenesses of their artist. This habit is incompatible with attaining the last highest step which genius is entitled to reach. It is attributable, no doubt, in these two cases, to that self-exaggeration which the hereditary privileges of wealth and station are apt to endanger, and which only experience and self-examination can allay. Byron was cut off before he became wise; but, as Johnson said of Goldsmith, with reference to a different subject, we predict that Bulwer Lytton is "coming right." The later productions of his pen have been more free from the pedantry inseparable from drawing inspiration too much from within. The scholarly cut-throat and elegant adulteres, we may hope, are henceforth abandoned to the *canaile* of literature; and his works seem to be acquiring that breadth and depth which can make them worthy of coming from a great master of the English tongue.—*The Age.*

Progress is the touchstone of revolutions; but it does not accomplish itself in a day, nor dart forth as the lightning which illuminates space. Nations gain freedom by degrees. Liberty widens, and the base of power extends in proportion to the spread of intelligence. Every evolution of humanity brings out a new idea, and consecrates new rights: each has its destiny to fulfil. The laws ought neither to rush in advance nor pass abreast of manners, for then they would be chimeras or assaults.—*Léon Faucher.*